

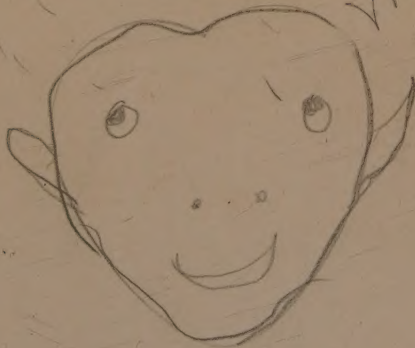
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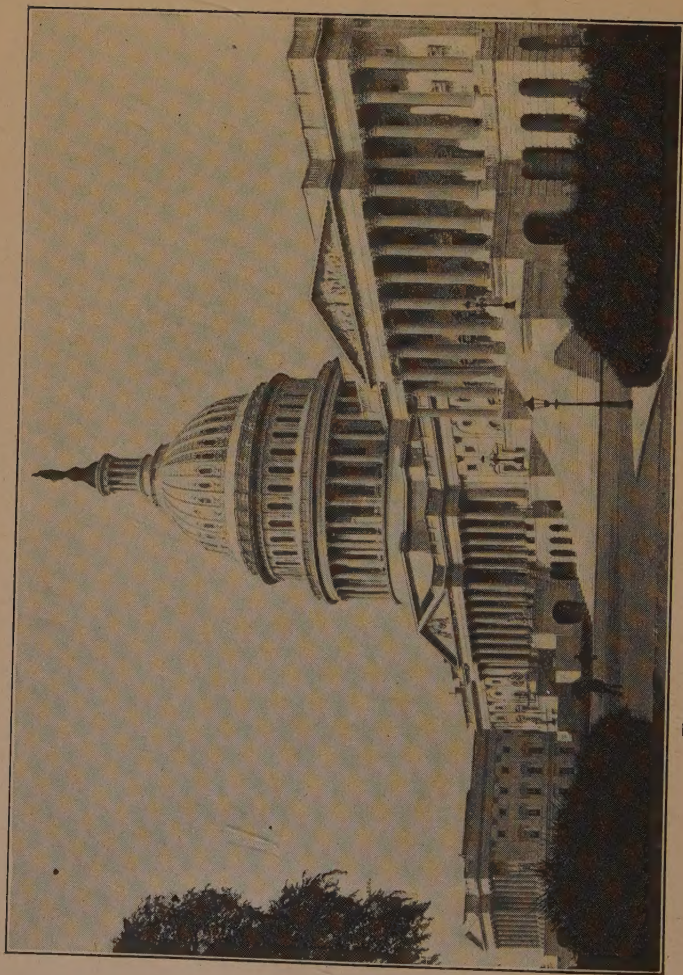
So Long

Your only

Sweetheart

B. B.

page 120



THE UNITED STATES CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT

BY

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ENVOY EXTRAORDINARY AND MINISTER PLENIPOTEN-
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CHINESE REPUBLIC

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BENJ. H. SANBORN & CO.

CHICAGO

NEW YORK

BOSTON

1916

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INTRODUCTION

YOUNG persons are not alone in preferring to see how things are done in political life rather than to study the bare legal framework of the state. The author believes that emphasis on the structure of our government has been carried too far, especially in books for children and young students. The subject has been given too much of a legal character. Now to see men at work, to see them struggling for influence and power and performing the duties of office and of citizenship, is undoubtedly far more interesting than to consider the underlying legal principles of constitutional organization. The writer of this little book, the result of a period of leisure from more exacting duties, has therefore attempted to make it a portrayal of action in political life. Its prime purpose is to train boys and girls to notice and to understand what is going on about them in their town, state, and nation. However, for intelligent action in mat-

ters of politics, we need also some understanding of the outward form of government. After the more essential methods of political action have been described, some attention will therefore be given to the structure of the state in all its parts. To the ordinary citizen it is far more important to understand the meaning of such matters as elections, the action of the city council, and the police, than to dwell upon the refinements of constitutional law. Only the most essential features of state organization have therefore been pointed out.

Politics and government are human action. — life and action of the most interesting kind. They are action, moreover, upon which our personal welfare and happiness are directly dependent. We cannot be members of a state in which corruption and injustice govern without feeling the bad results in our own life. The life of a state is our life written large. Without a well-arranged and orderly state life, complete private happiness is not possible. Moreover, there is no satisfaction in life so great as devotion to the welfare of the state. All private satisfaction seems small when compared with that of a man who has gained the confidence

of his fellow-citizens through honest action and personal sacrifice.

There is such a multitude of facts in connection with political life that it is necessary to select those which are most important for young Americans to know. A small book like this cannot pretend to be complete. If we should try to fill it with a description of every political institution, it would become a dreary catalogue of things that mean nothing to our minds. But while we cannot cover the ground completely, we can endeavor to point out those things which are most vital and important, in order that they may acquire a meaning in the minds of young persons which will help them much in after life. This is not a handbook on American government, but only the first introduction into that fascinating field.

Institutions differ so much in different parts of our country that some of them can be described only in general terms. It is for the young students themselves to see what particular form an institution takes in their own community and neighborhood. To make them find out these things by inquiry and observation is the best training that their minds can receive.

People should be able to see for themselves and interpret the meaning of what is going on around them. For this reason there have been added to each chapter a few questions to be answered by the pupil himself after inquiry and observation. These are, of course, only in the nature of suggestions to the teacher. The information is not to be taken from books, but is to be obtained through personal inquiry. The intelligent use of newspaper information, too, may be taught in this connection. Often these questions will be designed also to train the judgment in that they will call for a decision between two alternatives. The study of political action offers a rare opportunity for training the power of observation as well as the judgment. As in the natural sciences, a pupil must learn to observe accurately and to judge of what he sees. It is apparent that a republic is especially in need of citizens who are able to do their own thinking, and to see the real through the veil of outward appearances.

The thanks of the author are due to the Publishers, and especially to Mr. Gordon A. Southworth, who rendered valuable assistance in preparing the manuscript, and who, during

the author's absence from the country, carefully read the proof; also to the United States Treasury Department, the United States Department of Agriculture, the Departments of War and Navy, the Post Office Department, the Department of Commerce and Labor, the United States Academies at West Point and Annapolis, the Department of Education, New York City, the Massachusetts Highway Commission, and the Massachusetts Metropolitan Park Commission, for illustrations.

P. S. R.

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,
January, 1909.

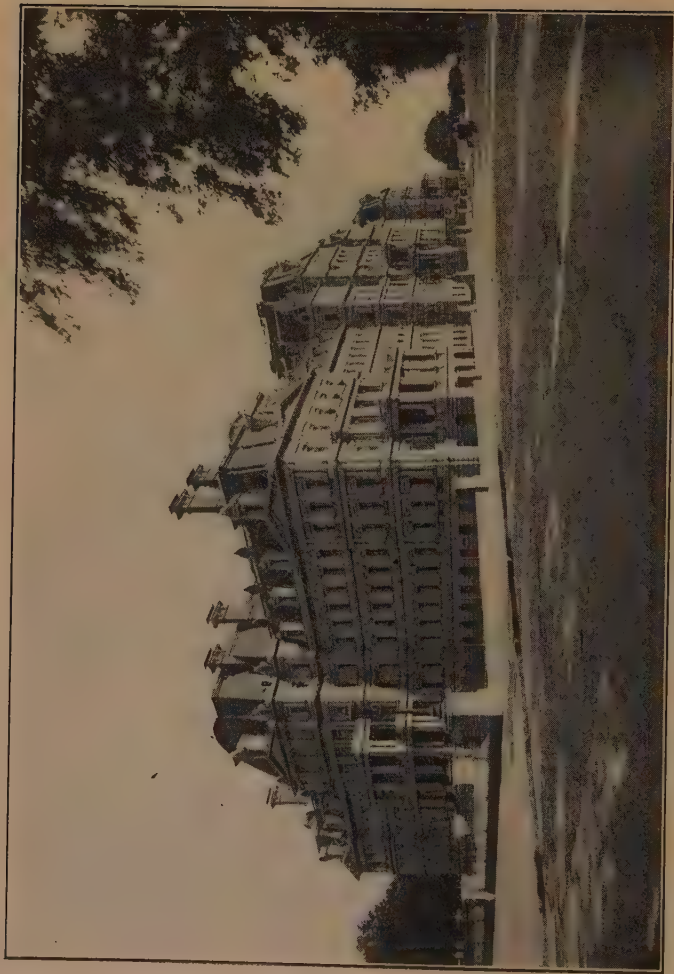
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PART I

GOVERNMENT AND THE CITIZEN



STATE, WAR, AND NAVY BUILDING, WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHAPTER I

THE TRUE NATURE OF GOVERNMENT

Government in Early Times. — Wherever men live together in communities, government exists. It has, however, very different forms. Among the savages in Africa and among the tribes of Central Asia, the communities are very small. They have at their head a chieftain. As civilization advances, a number of such communities or tribes are brought together under the power of a single ruler. In the earlier stages of community life there is apt to be much warfare. War demands obedience on the part of the army to its commander. So it comes about that the head of the state at times when war is common becomes very powerful. As the power passes from father to son, certain families establish their authority for long periods. Such royal families, whose history goes back to these early warlike times, still exist in many countries, like England, Germany, and Russia. In some of these countries,

however, the progress of peaceful civilization has resulted in greatly limiting the power of the sovereign; while in a number of countries such as the United States, France, and Switzerland, no sovereign family exists at all, the government being carried on by men elected by the citizens in general.

In earlier times government was looked upon as something imposed from above. The royal power seemed so strong that there was no possibility of resisting it. Kings often claimed that they exercised divine power. In such periods the people were not supposed to do anything but obey commands given from above. A state with such a government has an unstable foundation. As it would be unsafe to build a house upon a foundation narrower than the house itself, so a state which rests only on a small number of people is not secure. It is far better that the power of all the people should be recognized in order that the state may have their intelligent support.

Government in Modern Times. — In our own times a government that should rely on force alone would have no security among an intelligent people. Our idea of government is different. The government is merely the people acting

directly or through its agents and representatives, for their own benefit. We cannot live happily unless we are willing to obey reasonable laws which protect the life and property of ourselves as well as of others. We could not live happily in a wilderness or in solitude. We need the company and assistance of other people. We need schools, churches, universities, business associations, societies, and clubs of various kinds. In order that we may be able to enjoy all these advantages of social life, we must also observe the rules laid down for social action. In order that these rules may be just and reasonable and impartially enforced, we elect certain of our fellow-citizens to make laws or to appoint officials for their execution. When we obey these laws and officers, we are simply obeying what we ourselves consider just and right.

The Real Government. — The government is composed of the men whom the people elect to office, together with officers who are appointed by them under the law. These men do the work in which all citizens are interested. They ought, therefore, to consider the welfare and interest of all members of the state. The government is not something apart from our life, something

outside of us, set over us; it is simply ourselves, the people, acting for our common benefit. The men whom we intrust with power do not have any special privilege, nor should they look upon their office as a source of advantage to themselves. We have given them influence and authority in order that they may do the work in which we are all interested. An official, no matter how high, is under the law just as any other citizen. Thus, if a governor or a president should violate the speed laws on a public road, he would be subject to arrest and fine like any other citizen. His power is only such as the law has given him, and is no greater than his responsibilities.

We need faithful, unselfish public servants who really think of and work for what is best for the community, that is, for all of us. Such men we shall honor and reward for their honesty and efficiency. In men who use their office simply to benefit themselves or their friends, we shall have no confidence. If they consider what is good for any small group of men or for any corporation rather than for the people as a whole, they are not faithful servants of the public. They are servants of the few — of men who possibly reward them with private gain, while we, the public,

are ignored as of no importance. We shall not trust men in office when we discover that their character is not that of honest public servants.

QUESTIONS

1. Are you a citizen? Of what? Tell the difference between a citizen and a voter.

2. What is a monarchy? An oligarchy? A plutocracy? A democracy?

3. How far back can you trace the family of King Edward VII?

4. What is a corporation? A republic? An ordinance? 

5. Why should we obey city ordinances?

6. What is patriotism? How can boys and girls show their patriotism?

7. Name some public officials in your city or town. Were they elected or appointed, and by whom?

8. What is a community or tribe? How governed?

9. What classes of citizens should be elected to public office? Why?

10. How does the government of the United States differ from that of England?

CHAPTER II

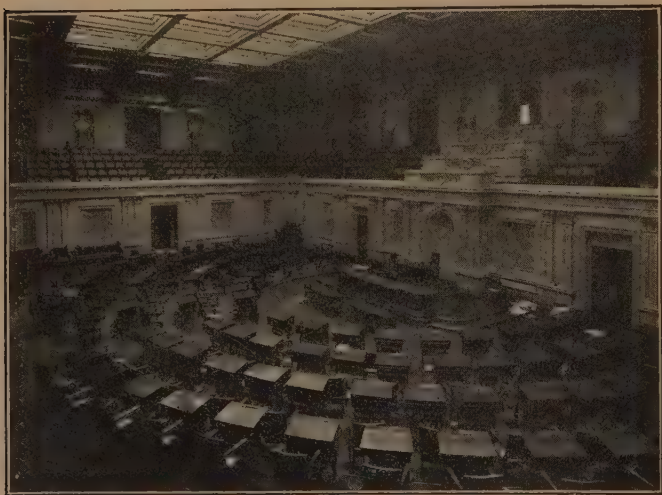
THE CITIZEN'S PART IN GOVERNMENT

A Pure Democracy.—While the work of government is carried on by elected and appointed officials who represent the people, the citizens themselves have important duties to fulfil in connection with the public business. There are some small communities in which the voters in assembly directly perform almost the entire work of governing. In the mountain regions of Switzerland there are cantons or communities in which all the citizens meet once or several times a year to discuss all matters of common interest. On these occasions they vote for laws and regulations and instruct the permanent officials as to how they are to conduct public affairs. In our country we have a similar institution in the *town meeting* found in New England, in New York, and in several Western commonwealths, in which the citizens of a neigh-

borhood come together to discuss matters relating to the common welfare. They vote on the raising of money, on the building and repair of roads, on school business, and similar matters. They elect some of their number, often called *selectmen*, to carry their votes into effect and transact business connected therewith. We call this form of public action *direct democracy*. Democracy is a Greek word meaning the rule of the people. In the town the people rule directly. They make their own by-laws and regulations without electing representatives for that purpose.

A Representative Government. — But it is plain that in a large city, in a state, or in a nation, it would be impossible to have all the citizens meet together for discussion and voting. A mass meeting of several thousand or a hundred thousand people is wholly impracticable. It is therefore necessary that smaller groups within the city or state — say wards or districts in the city or towns and counties in the state — should select representatives to meet together as a council or legislature to make laws and regulations for the government of the community. In a nation like our own the most important duty of the citizens, therefore, is that of voting. When the citizen

casts his ballot, he decides who is to represent him in the exercise of power.



THE SENATE CHAMBER, WASHINGTON, D.C.

The people not only select the men who are to hold office, but they also control the policies of public action which are to be followed, because candidates for office always declare what policy they stand for. The citizens or electors therefore choose not only between men but between policies.

Intelligent Voting.—Many people do not realize the importance of the act they perform when they

cast their ballots. There are people even who do not think for themselves when they are voting, but follow the advice of others. Every citizen should know what candidates he wants to vote for as the best representatives of his idea of the public good. He should inquire about them, and find out whether in offices which they may have formerly held they have been honest and efficient. He should read their arguments and see what policies they support. If he finds that they are not to be trusted, or that they support wrong policies, he should not vote for them.

We see that there are many things to inquire about before voting. It is, therefore, better that there should not be too many elective offices. Let the most important officers be elected by the people, but let all other officials be appointed. If we have to vote for a large number of men, we cannot often vote intelligently. We cannot learn all we ought to know about the individual candidates before the election. If, however, we vote only for men to fill the most important positions, we may ordinarily do so wisely, and may thus control the policy of the entire government, the subordinate officials being dependent in their action.

Admission to Citizenship. — All persons born in the United States are American citizens, no matter what the nationality of their parents may be. If people from other countries come to live in the United States, and desire to become citizens here, the law requires them to declare this purpose before the court. Then, after residing in the United States five years, they may be admitted to citizenship by a court, if they promise to support the Constitution and live permanently in the United States. Only white persons and people of African descent may become citizens of our country by naturalization.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the difference between a pure democracy and a representative democracy?
2. What are by-laws? A constitution? Selectmen?
3. Which form of government is better in a place of fifteen thousand inhabitants? Why?
4. Who is at the head of the government in your town or city? Are his assistants appointed or elected?
5. What is a ward? How many in your city?
6. What is a county? How many in your state?
7. What is a citizen's most important duty?
8. What is a town meeting? Where found? What matters are voted upon?

CHAPTER III

NOMINATIONS

Selecting Candidates for Office.—In the election one may, of course, vote for any citizen whom he desires to place in office. It is customary, however, for voters to name or nominate certain candidates before the election, because otherwise the votes would be scattered. One would not care to throw away one's vote by casting it for a person whom no one else puts on his ticket. Citizens, therefore, combine to select a man for whom they will vote. In this way parties are formed. *Political parties* are large groups of citizens who stand for certain policies and who act together in nominating officials to carry out those policies.

Conventions.—The original method of nominating still in use in many states was for each political party to hold a convention. The delegates to this meeting are nominated in so-called *primaries*; that is, in meetings of the citizens of

small election districts or precincts. There are county conventions, district conventions, state conventions, and national conventions. The delegates to the state conventions may be elected by the county conventions, and the delegates to the national convention by the state conventions.

When citizens do not pay sufficient attention to the primary nominations, the nominating power often comes into the hands of corrupt politicians. One cannot expect to enjoy a right which he does not exercise. Even rights of property must be exercised in order to preserve them. Should one fail to look after land which he owns, some one else might settle on it, and finally the owner's right to it would be lost. So if citizens do not exercise their right of nominating candidates for office, their power will be taken by political organizers who are often corrupt and seek nothing but their own gain.

Direct Primaries. — In a large number of the states the system has been changed so that party conventions no longer have this power of nomination. The citizens themselves hold a *direct primary election* at which they vote for men whom they wish to be candidates of a party for office. The man receiving the largest number of votes in

each party for any office will be the candidate of that party in the election which is held somewhat later.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you have direct primary elections in your state?

2. At what time and in what manner are the candidates for the office of sheriff nominated?

3. Is it better that the candidates should be nominated in a convention or by direct primaries?

4. At the next primary election let your father or uncle show you a ballot. See how many candidates are named on this ballot.

5. What is the meaning of primary? Politics? Nominate? Try to find the origin of the word "candidate."

6. Which is more important, the nomination or the election of an official?

7. What is a political party? Name four.

8. What is a convention? What does the word "convention" mean?

9. Who are entitled to vote at a primary? Why?

10. For what offices were candidates voted for at the last primary in your home?

CHAPTER IV

ELECTIONS

Voting by Ballot. — With us elections are carried on entirely by *ballot*; that is, by a vote written or printed upon a slip or sheet of paper. The ballot may be simply a party ballot; that is, the names of the candidates of one party only may appear on it. This is the older method, which is still used in a few states. Under this method, if one desires to vote for a man whose name is not on the party ticket, he will scratch out the name of the regular nominee and write the name of the man whom he desires to be elected. This is called “scratching,” or the voting of a “split ticket.”

The Australian Ballot. — In most states the so-called *Australian ballot* has been introduced. This is a ballot on which the candidates of all parties are named, either alphabetically, or arranged in separate columns according to parties. In the latter case, any one voting for all the candidates of one party will make a cross at the head

of that party column. But if he desires to split his ticket, he puts a cross next to the name of each candidate for whom he wishes to vote.

Voting Machines. — The American people are so practical in labor-saving devices that *voting machines* have been invented, which are already in use in many states. These machines save the trouble of marking a ballot, and they also count and register the number of votes cast for every candidate. The machine shows these numbers at any time, so that the tedious work of counting ballots is saved. The results are also absolutely accurate. It is important, before voting, to know exactly how to use the machine. If one does not use it right, his vote will be lost, as it will also be if he does not mark his ballot correctly. There will always be some one present at the election to explain the proper use of the ballot or the voting machine.

Split Tickets. — It is very important that one should learn how to vote a split ticket. If one can only vote a straight ticket, that is, a ticket for all the candidates of a certain party, his choice is limited. There may be on the party ticket a man who should not be elected, because he has failed to fulfil his promises and has not been an

honest servant of the public. He can only be defeated by votes for the candidate of some other party for that position. His name must, therefore, be stricken out, if the voter has placed a cross in the " party circle " at the top.

The Process of Voting. — Elections are held in election booths or halls. Each party is entitled to have election judges present to take charge of the election and report the result to the Secretary of State in the capital of the commonwealth or to other designated officers. On entering the election booth and having his right to vote recognized, the voter will receive a blank ballot. He then steps into a stall, where he marks his ballot. When he has carefully looked it over to see that he has made no mistake, he hands it to one of the election judges, who deposits it in the ballot-box. If there is a voting machine, the voter will pull certain levers which will register his vote. One can take all the time he needs in marking the ballot, but if one votes by machine, he must do it quickly, as there is usually only one machine, and many people desiring to vote. The judges will, therefore, allow only a minute or so to register a vote.

In either case the vote is secret, and nobody knows who has been favored. Formerly votes

were given by word of mouth, so that the community knew how every one had voted. The secret ballot was introduced for the purpose of breaking down the influence of rich and powerful men who might wish to coerce those dependent upon them to vote in a certain way. At the present time one is not obliged to make his vote public, though most persons are independent enough to tell frankly whom they have supported. Some people think that it is a disgrace to have voted for a candidate who has been defeated; but if the voter acts intelligently and honestly, defeat does not matter. The majority is sometimes wrong. It is better to feel that one is right with a few than wrong with the majority.

Political Campaigns. — Preceding the election, the candidates urge upon the voters their claims to office. A campaign really is a series of military movements and battles in a war. As we have substituted the ballot for force, we have freed ourselves from the need of battles to determine who the rulers shall be; but we call a political contest a campaign because citizens can fight with speeches and ballots as well as with arms. Often people form uniformed marching clubs that parade through the streets with bands of music

in torch-light processions. This is all very interesting to the boys and girls, but a careful voter will be very little influenced by such exhibitions. He will make up his mind in his choice between different candidates on the basis of the principles they stand for and the service they have rendered. In this he is assisted by the arguments made during the campaign. These we sometimes call stump speeches, because when our country was new and but recently settled, many tree stumps were still left standing in village streets. It was very convenient for a man who wanted to address the villagers to mount one of these stumps and to make his speech from this point of vantage. If he became very profuse in cheap and insincere patriotism, it was said, "He made the eagle scream." Very often the campaign speeches took the form of deriding and blackening the character of the other party, or of telling jokes meant to ridicule the opposition.

At present, campaigns have become more dignified. We like to hear a witty speaker who knows how to take advantage of the weaknesses of the other side, but we are not satisfied with ancient jokes and a superficial oratory. The most successful political orators to-day know that the great

interests of the public, the important work that the government is doing, are more fascinating subjects than anything else on which a campaign speech can be made. They, therefore, speak to their audiences upon matters that are really worth while. They do not seek merely to amuse their hearers, but they appeal to their judgment.

Voting on Changes in the Constitution. — While the citizen most frequently votes for public officials, he is also occasionally called on to express his choice regarding important matters of law or public expediency. This takes place when *constitutional amendments* are submitted to the people. A constitution is the body of law which lies at the basis of government. It fixes the general powers of officers and guarantees the rights of citizens. A change in the constitution is the most important act of the citizens of a free state. The fundamental law upon which everything else depends is affected by such action. The proposed amendments will be printed at the bottom of the ballots or upon separate sheets. Upon these amendments the citizens vote either "yes" or "no." It is strange that usually the vote on amendments is very small as compared with the vote for officials. This shows that many people

do not appreciate the importance of a change in the constitution. They do not take the time to inform themselves as to what the amendment means. For example, it may provide that the state shall be authorized to borrow money for the construction of public roads. The voter should consider whether it is advisable for the state to incur a debt for this purpose. He should consider how valuable good roads are to a commonwealth — how much they add in usefulness and enjoyment to the life of the citizens. Only after he has fully considered these matters and informed himself upon them should he cast his vote.

Oversight of Officials. — We ought to know the business of the state or government because it is our own business and affects our own happiness. We should give heed to what the public servants are doing and how they are fulfilling their duties. We cannot expect that officials will be faithful to our interests if we do not reward them for honest action with our confidence. If we do not attend to our own affairs, nobody else will do it for us. We have a common proverb, "Mind your own business." This has often been falsely interpreted to mean that a man should confine himself exclusively to his own individual interests. It is,

of course, very wise that we should not waste any attention on what concerns other people only. But when we go before the legislature and argue for the protection of forests or for the building of good roads, or when we tell the city council that no franchises should be given without proper return to the people and the city, we are attending to our own business; because if these things are not settled in the right manner we may personally suffer in consequence.

QUESTIONS

1. What is a "hand vote"? A "yea and nay vote"? A "roll-call vote"? A "*viva voce* vote"?

2. What is a ballot? Try to find the origin of the word.

3. When may each of these ways of voting be used?

4. What is it to "scratch a ballot"?

5. Why are states sometimes called commonwealths?

6. What is the value of a political torch-light procession?

7. What are some of the advantages of a secret ballot?

8. What are some of the advantages of a voting machine?

9. Find the meaning of guarantee; legislature; franchise; fundamental; register.

CHAPTER V

SOME DUTIES OF CITIZENS

Office-holding. — The duty of the citizen is not fully done when he has voted for officials and on constitutional amendments. He may be called by his fellow-citizens to hold public office himself. In this case it is his duty, even at some personal sacrifice, to undertake this work for the state and the community. Some offices do not require much attention. They are simply honorary and without salary. The office of presidential elector is such. In most cases, however, public office involves labor and time. It is, therefore, just that the public should pay its officers well, so that their loss may not be too great. The American people is, indeed, rich enough to afford the best public service, and it should be paid for at a reasonable rate. We ought not to expect men to leave their business and devote their time and thought and energy to the public without suitable remuneration. But in turn the office-holder should look upon himself as a representative of

the public. The value of his position is not to be estimated by the privileges or income which it brings to him, but by the advantages which he can secure for the public by means of it. The highest honor in the world is public confidence, not a large income. The President of the United States is paid only \$75,000 a year. Its Chief Justice receives \$15,000, cabinet officers, \$12,000, and a senator, \$7500. Yet there are many millionaires who would willingly surrender their entire income in order to enjoy the public confidence which goes with these high offices.

Jury Service. — Another duty of citizens is to serve on juries in the trial of civil and criminal cases. For this service the citizen is given a small remuneration, but it is a duty which is often irksome and disagreeable. To sit through a long, tedious trial, perhaps for weeks, listening to testimony and the arguments of attorneys, and then to be shut up with other jurymen for hours, or even days, until the verdict has been agreed upon, is often a very undesirable experience. There is no duty of the citizen, however, in the performance of which higher demands are made upon his character. All our laws rest upon the people. They must ultimately enforce them through juries in

all parts of our country. When a man has committed a crime, he ought to be punished. He should neither be persecuted in malice nor freed



THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT ROOM

through pity. The *majesty* of the law must be upheld. Often when jurors see how a man has been led into temptation by others, how he has failed through weakness of character, and how his wife and innocent children will suffer through his imprisonment, they are moved with compassion, and it becomes a hard task to condemn him. Yet it must be done, because punishment is meted out to

offenders in order that the people may be protected. Upon the character and intelligence of jurymen depend the enforcement of law and the security of the people.

Army Service. — Every citizen of the state is under obligation to defend his country in case



DRESS PARADE, WEST POINT

of need. Should our country be attacked from without, the citizen must be ready to come to its aid. At such a time he is merely standing up for the defence of his home, his family, and all that is dear to him. In times of war the government is given the right to compel the citizen to render military service. He may be drafted into the army, and must serve unless his physical condition is such as to make it impossible. While, happily,

our country is so powerful and in such friendly relations with other countries that war need not be feared, yet it is our duty to be ready at any time to enter the army and fight for the security of our country. Nobody will care to attack those who are strong and ready to defend themselves. We should train our bodies so that we can endure fatigue and hardship, otherwise the first experience in a military camp would make us helpless. Our nation will be strong if its citizens are healthy, vigorous, and able to defend themselves.

Payment of Taxes. — It is the duty of the citizen to be always ready and willing to contribute from his own property to the support of the government. When we consider all the benefits which come to us through the government, we should be willing to pay our share of its expenses. Unfortunately, some people, in one way or another, avoid the payment of their just part of the burden of taxation. In defrauding the state the citizen defrauds himself, because if he does not want to carry the burdens, he cannot expect to share the privileges of good government.

QUESTIONS

1. What are the disadvantages of an official salary that is too small? Of one that is too large?

2. What are the salaries of some of your town or state officers?

3. How are jurors selected?

4. What persons are excused from jury service?

5. Is it proper for a candidate for office to advocate his own election?

6. Are "office-seekers" good citizens?

7. What qualities make a man a good jurymen?
A good soldier? A good office-holder? A good citizen?

8. Why is smuggling wrong?

9. Is it worse to cheat your neighbor or to cheat the government?

10. Who should be excused from military service?

11. Why are some persons excused from jury duty?

12. Does the same jury consider all kinds of cases?

Why not?

13. What are jurors paid?

14. Who is the commander-in-chief of the United States army?

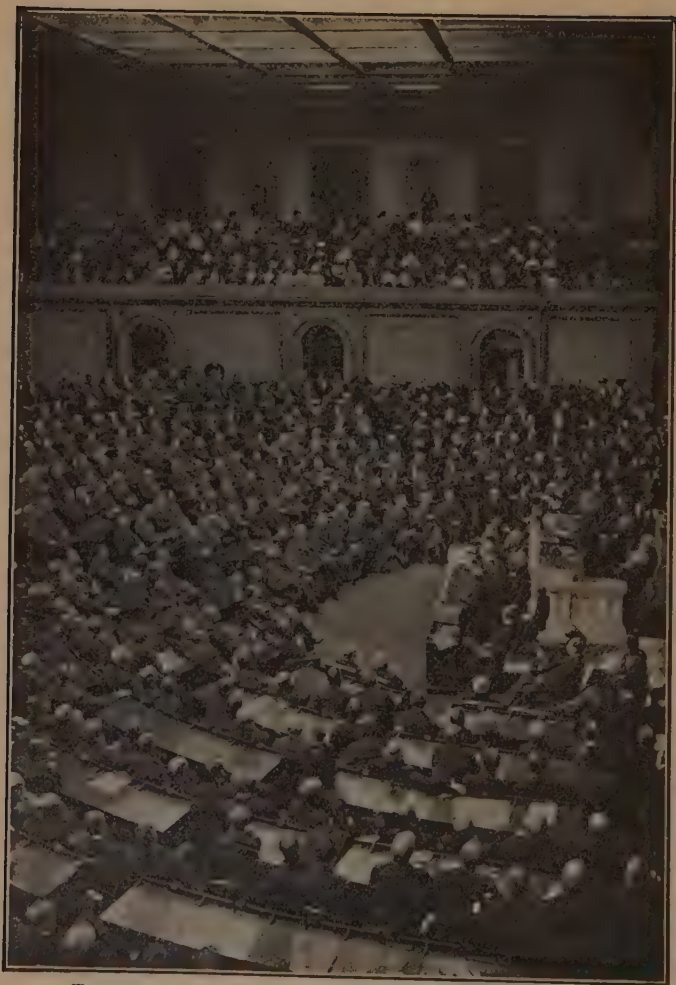
15. What is a tax? How are taxes levied?

16. Name three kinds of taxes.

17. What is an income tax? Is an income tax justifiable? Why?

PART II

WHAT GOVERNMENTS DO



THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, WASHINGTON, D.C.

CHAPTER VI

MAINTAINING ORDER

Protection in Feudal Times. — We all desire to live in peace, to have our homes free from invasion, to have our property protected. Only thus may we work, travel, and play in comfort and peace. But who threatens the order under which we live? In earlier ages society was very insecure. Men desired to get what they could, and had little respect for one another's rights. So it was necessary for each one to protect his own by the force of his right arm. Sheltered locations were much sought after. Men preferred to build their homes on high and inaccessible rocks. When we stand on the ramparts of one of the castles in Scotland or on the Rhine, we realize what protection against injury meant in those early days. The man who had succeeded in building himself a castle on an eminence, well protected with powerful walls and battlements, had not only secured safety for himself and family, but he could also give protection to the people of the neighborhood. On his watch-

towers stood sentinels who could see a hostile force approaching from the distance. They could give warning to the peasants who were working in the fertile fields of the plains and valleys below. These would hurry with their wives and children up the road to the castle to seek protection within its walls. But, for the safety thus gained, they had given up their independence to the lord of the castle. They worked for him, they brought what grain they could produce and what cattle they could raise for his use, keeping only enough themselves to support a bare existence. Thus protection against violence is an advantage for which men have in many cases given up practically all they had.

Cities grew in this fashion. Athens, Corinth, Rome, — all the cities of antiquity, — were built on precipitous hills. They had their acropolis, a word which means a steep city, a fortress on an inaccessible hill-top. There stood the temples in which the divinities of the city found their home. On the lower slopes and on the surrounding plains citizens lived, worked, and traded. But they could always take refuge within the protecting walls of the fortress. As their wealth and importance grew, they built outer fortress walls

enclosing the entire settlement. In the Middle Ages all towns were walled in this fashion. The citizens thus protected could develop their rights



A FEUDAL CASTLE

of free government. The cities were the cradles of modern liberty. They could successfully defend themselves against long sieges; although when the force of the opponent was overpowering, they fell, their walls were broken down, and the city given over to massacre and destruction.

Protection against Criminals. — In our age men in general have a greater respect for one

another's rights. Castles or city walls are no longer needed for protection. Nations, indeed, are still building powerful fortresses, but within their own territory mutual protection does not require castle walls. Castles are relics of a former civilization, interesting chiefly for their picturesqueness and for the beautiful views that can be enjoyed from their ramparts. We are protected by the general respect for the rights of life and property which pervade the entire community. In some parts of the country we may live for months without seeing a policeman or soldier or any other person whose business it is to protect the public. We need not be afraid of attacks upon our persons, our homes, or our property.

There are, however, still found in almost every community a vicious class who will violate the rights of others by theft, murder, or other crimes. These criminals have the instincts of an earlier time in the development of our civilization. They are a menace against which the state is under obligation to protect us. This work of protection is carried on by the police force and other officials who have police powers, such as sheriffs and constables in towns. The police should be constantly watchful to prevent crime

and to make its punishment possible by the arrest of criminals. A policeman who falls asleep on his beat or spends his time at places of amusement, where he is not stationed by orders of his chief, should be dismissed from the service. Criminals avoid cities where an efficient police exists, but they infest towns where the police is inefficient or corrupt.

As protection against crime and violence is the first duty of the government, so no greater evil can exist than an alliance between the police and criminals, through which criminals are allowed to escape in return for a share in their ill-gotten gains. It seems impossible that such things can exist; and yet when citizens are not watchful, greed and corruption will sometimes bring about such deplorable conditions.

The Arrest of the Criminal. — When a policeman has proof that a crime has been committed, or that a person has broken the laws, he should at once arrest the criminal. In a country district such arrest will usually be made by a sheriff or constable. To resist a peace officer is itself a crime, so that even if the arrest is illegal, no resistance should be made. If the officer is not able to handle the criminal or criminals alone, he

may call in the assistance of any citizens present, and the latter are obliged to help in making the arrest or in pursuing the fleeing criminal. If a citizen should see a crime committed, it is his right and duty to arrest the criminal on the spot in order to prevent his escape. He may use any necessary force in doing this. Here, too, we see that the agents of the government are only doing the work which we as citizens might do for ourselves, but which for convenience has been intrusted to some designated person.

No citizen should, however, assume to judge and punish a criminal outside of the regular courts.

Extradition. — Should a criminal escape into another state, a telegram will be sent to the governor of that state or to the police in a city asking to have him arrested and extradited. *Extradition* means the handing over of an arrested person by one state to the authorities of another. Should criminals organize in clubs, or should large bodies of the population riot and destroy the property and endanger the lives of other citizens, the militia of the state may be called out to assist the peace officers; and when the legislature or governor of a state asks for it, United States troops will be sent to help in restoring order. The militia

and the troops should, however, be used only when actual violence is threatened and when the ordinary peace officers are plainly unable to restore order.



AN ILLINOIS COUNTY COURT HOUSE

Trial of Criminals. — When a criminal has been arrested, his trial before a court of the state follows. He is first given a preliminary hearing before a magistrate, that is, a justice of the peace or a municipal judge. After it is found that good cause exists for his arrest, he will be bound over for trial. The magistrate, if the case is not one of murder, will ordinarily permit the accused to go

free until the time of trial, if he can furnish sufficient bail. *Bail* may be described as a payment of money, or as a promise of such payment, to secure the appearance of an accused person at trial. If he should meanwhile escape and not appear when the trial begins, the money thus paid or promised would be forfeited to the state.

In criminal actions the state itself is the plaintiff. It is represented by the prosecuting attorney, who is usually called State's Attorney or District Attorney. He draws up the accusation against the accused in proper legal form. He must be exceedingly careful in this, because if the crime charged is not properly described, the action may fail and the criminal may be dismissed by the court. When the day for trial comes, the accused is arraigned before the court. He is asked whether he pleads guilty or not guilty to the charge preferred against him. Should he plead guilty, that is, should he admit his guilt openly, the judge will immediately pronounce judgment and fix the punishment under the law. If he pleads not guilty, that is, if he denies his guilt, the trial begins.

The Defence of the Criminal. — The accused is entitled to counsel. If he cannot afford to

pay an attorney himself, the judge will appoint some one to defend him. Formerly, the accused was not permitted to bring any counsel into the court, and in general he was treated as if he were guilty and had to prove his innocence. But it was found that many innocent men were unjustly condemned and punished under this arrangement. In our country we have decided to give the accused every possible protection in order that he may clear himself if he is not guilty. He is allowed counsel. He need not testify against himself, though he may testify in his own favor. He is presumed not to be guilty until his guilt is proven, and it must be proven so strongly that no reasonable doubt remains. If he thinks the judge will be unfavorable to him, or that the entire neighborhood is strongly prejudiced, he may ask to have his case tried in some other county. This is called a *change of venue*. If men who have been drawn for the jury do not seem fair to him, he may object to a certain number of them, and when the verdict and judgment have been finally given, he may appeal to a higher court. Certainly the rights of an individual could not be protected more carefully than is done under our laws. It is unfortunate that improper advantage is taken of

this liberality, and that scheming attorneys will sometimes shield the guilty by using many legal technicalities which our liberal system makes possible.

The Jury. — To return to the trial. The first thing after the accused has pleaded not guilty is to select a jury of twelve men to decide the question of his innocence or guilt. The sheriff or jury commissioners have prepared a list of jurors called a *panel*. These jurors are called up one by one by the clerk of the court. They are questioned as to whether they have any prejudice in the matter, and if neither the accused nor the state objects to a juror, he is sworn in by the clerk of the court, and takes his seat in the jury-box. When twelve men have thus been selected, the trial begins. Witnesses are examined, the attorneys make their arguments, and the judge instructs or *charges* the jury as to what law ought to be applied in the case. After this the jurymen retire to a special room, where they hold their deliberations. They must agree before the verdict can be rendered. Sometimes they will sit through days and nights before they can come to a decision. If they are so hopelessly divided that they can never unite in their opinions, they will

report to the court that they cannot render a verdict, and a new trial must take place. As a trial is expensive, it is always desirable that juries should give a verdict. When they have united on a verdict, they inform the judge, who calls the court together in the presence of the jury and prisoner. They then give the *verdict* of guilty or not guilty. We can imagine the strain that the prisoner is under when the case is submitted to the jury, and when his freedom or even his life depends upon the judgment of these twelve men.

Evidence of Guilt. — The position of a jurymen is one of great responsibility. He should be absolutely impartial, and not allow his feelings to injure or favor the accused. While he will feel sympathy for the offender, he must remember that law and order can only be upheld by the punishment of criminals. If he has a reasonable doubt of the guilt of the accused, he should not pronounce him guilty, even if there is much popular clamor for his conviction.

It is often difficult to arrive at a judgment on *circumstantial evidence*. Most crimes are committed in secret, so that direct evidence of the crime cannot be given. Sometimes, however, circumstantial evidence is as convincing as direct

evidence. If a man, after a crime had been committed, should be seen burying a bloody weapon, and should thereafter be caught disposing of some articles taken from the body of a murdered man, his guilt would be presumed, if he could not give an entirely satisfactory explanation of these unusual acts. Though no one has seen him committing the crime, his behavior shows that he is guilty. In all such matters the common sense, honesty, and character of the jury must be relied upon. This illustrates how our government rests upon the people, and how the people must stand back of every law if it is enforced.

The Punishment. — When the jury has returned its verdict, the judge pronounces judgment and determines the punishment of the crime under the law. It is then the privilege of the accused to make an appeal from the decision of the court to a higher tribunal, where his case will be definitely disposed of.

In the punishment of criminals two objects are sought, the protection of society and the reformation of the criminal. In cases where the character of the criminal is such that any improvement is hopeless, — if, for instance, he has been inhuman enough to take the life of another person, — some

commonwealths punish the criminal with death. In many states, however, imprisonment for life is the most severe punishment. We should, of course, consider that criminals are often unfortunate beings who have been driven to their desperate acts by unhappy conditions, but this should not lead us to weakness in dealing with them. They must be placed where they cannot do any harm. Nevertheless, with all criminals, but especially with those guilty of less serious crimes, the effort should be made to inflict punishment in such a manner that their character may be improved and that they may be enabled to atone for their wrongdoing. Prisoners should be given an opportunity to do useful work, and every evidence of a desire to reform should be recognized and encouraged. When released from prison after their term of punishment has expired, they should be helped to obtain some honest occupation, that they may not be driven back to a criminal life.

Criminal laws deal with acts which are directed against the safety of all of us. When a man is wounded, when his house is invaded by burglars, when thieves carry off the property of others, we all feel the danger to ourselves, and we demand that the government shall protect us against such

acts and shall punish them as crimes against society itself.

Unjust Arrest. — The law also protects innocent persons against unjust arrest or imprisonment. When the liberty of any person is restrained, his friends may go before any judge and get from him a writ of *habeas corpus* (Latin for “ You may have the body”). This writ is a command of the court, directing the sheriff or other person under whose control the prisoner may be to bring him before the court and to show for what reason he is imprisoned. If no legal cause can be shown, the judge will then immediately set free the prisoner thus illegally restrained. In times of war the privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* may be temporarily suspended. It is a great protection to the liberty of citizens against official tyranny or unjust persecution, that the legality of an arrest can thus be at any time tested.

QUESTIONS

1. Define feudal; acropolis; plaintiff; defendant; bail; extradite; venue; panel; *habeas corpus*.
2. What are some of the qualities that make a good policeman? A good judge?
3. What are some of the influences that make criminals?

4. How may crime be prevented?
5. What connection, if any, between truancy and crime? Intemperance and crime?
6. What is the business of a juvenile court?
7. What is a reform school? An indeterminate sentence?
8. What is capital punishment? Is it justifiable?
9. What is lynch law?
10. How do you discriminate between a crime and a misdemeanor?
11. What are the duties of a sheriff? A constable?
12. Why were juvenile courts established? Have they helped any boys or girls to become better men and women? How?
13. Is a person guilty because arrested? What is "reasonable doubt"?
14. What is "circumstantial evidence"?
15. Why should criminals be punished?

CHAPTER VII

PROTECTION OF THE CITIZENS

Protection of Property. — The government not only protects us against the acts of criminals, but it also protects our property and our health. One of the best-known departments of a city government is the fire department. Firemen are paid by the city for watching over the property of citizens and protecting it against destruction by fire. If a fire alarm is given, they must immediately hasten with their apparatus to the scene of the fire and extinguish it. They are under the command of the chief of the department, who controls their action as a general does an army. In smaller places fire companies are made up of citizens who volunteer to do this service for the people. It is inspiring to see these brave and fearless men at a great fire imperil their own lives to save lives and property of others.

Protection of Health. — Another service which the government performs is the protection of health. On the national frontier and at the great

seaports *quarantine* stations are established. No persons are admitted to our country who are suffering from an epidemic or infectious disease. It is not sufficient to prevent the importation of disease, but we must also fight it in our own communities. This is done by health officers appointed by governments of cities and states. People suffering from contagious or infectious diseases should be isolated; that is, they should be placed where they will not come in contact with other persons to whom the disease might be communicated. People always dislike to go to a contagious hospital, and the family of the sick person sometimes oppose his removal to such a place. If this precaution is not taken, however, the disease will soon spread to other members of the family and among the neighbors. The only safety lies in the prompt isolation of the patient. At a good hospital one has more effective care than is possible even at home, so that recovery is generally more rapid. Health officers take many other measures designed to protect the life and health of the public. All their requirements should be respected, for their observance, though inconvenient at the time, will protect us as well as others from much trouble and suffering.

Personal Rights. — Though a man may not do direct violence to our person or destroy or injure our property, his actions may, nevertheless, be so injurious to us that we will not suffer them without complaint. Thus, he may refuse to fulfil his promise, or to pay for goods bought from us; he may allow his cattle to pasture on our land; or he may tell falsehoods about us that injure our reputation. When such acts as these are not accompanied by direct violence or disorderly conduct, the state will not itself punish them by fine or imprisonment. They are not crimes against the state, but wrongs (or *torts*) against individuals. In such cases, the offender must make good whatever damage his act has caused. The state will assist its citizens in obtaining justice under such circumstances. The courts are open to any who wish to bring action against those who have infringed their legal rights.

The duties that we owe our fellow-citizens and neighbors are not only recognized by our own sense of justice, but they are also defined and enforced by the laws of the state. These laws must be in accordance with the public conscience as to what is right and wrong. They ought not to forbid actions which are harmless in themselves simply

because they are not pleasing to certain persons, nor ought they to allow acts to be committed by which any citizen will suffer injury.

Our Neighbors' Rights. — It is the law of the land that we must fulfil contracts which we have made. When we have promised to carry out a certain piece of work, or to rent lands or a house to another, or to sell him certain goods or to pay him a certain purchase price, we are bound in law to do as we have promised. We must also be considerate of the property rights, the health, and reputation of our fellow-citizens. We must not wantonly trespass upon their property, doing injury thereto. They have a right to forbid hunting or the picking of flowers upon their land. In fact, whenever we go upon the land of another person, we do it really without any right, and we should be careful not to do any injury to trees or fences or buildings. It is also wrong to do any act which injures the health of others, such as throwing refuse where it may become injurious. A man's good name or reputation is his most valuable possession. It is, therefore, a great wrong to accuse him falsely of having done disreputable or criminal acts.

All such wrongful acts as these are called torts,

and they may be punished by the courts. The person bringing the action is called the *plaintiff*. The one of whom he complains is called the *defendant*. Both persons usually have attorneys, although in lower courts they will often state their own case without any such help. If either party desires it, the case will be tried before a jury. In a justice court, six or twelve men make up the jury. In the higher courts it numbers twelve men, just like the jury in criminal cases. If the court decide for the plaintiff, it will condemn the defendant to the payment of a certain sum of money by way of damages. This money is not like a fine in a criminal court. A fine for criminal action goes to the state. In a civil action, however, the damages are paid to the plaintiff.

Action at Law to be Avoided. — A fair-minded citizen will not begin an action at law before he has attempted to settle the case outside of court. Most cases can be thus settled if both parties are reasonable. They will find a common meeting ground, a solution of the difficulty, which satisfies both. However, if one entirely disregards our rights and seems to wish to trample on them, it will be a great weakness on our part if we do not stand up for what is just. In such a case we are

not only defending our own rights, but those of all other citizens. If we should weakly submit to wrong, the rights of others would also soon be attacked. It is only by defending our rights at all times against encroachment that we can secure and protect them. Sometimes we feel that it is less trouble to submit to injury, but it is always better to be firm in resisting wrong. Not very long ago, when Mark Twain returned to New York City from Europe, a hack driver tried to exact from him four or five times the regular fare. The author was in haste, his time was valuable, and so the driver thought that it would be easy to impose upon him. But he had mistaken his man. The passenger insisted that the driver take him to the police headquarters. There he paid the rogue his regular fare, but made complaint of him for his exactions, and insisted upon his punishment for breaking the city ordinance. In speaking of this occurrence, Mark Twain said, "We can preserve great rights only by standing up for little rights." Where everybody is too busy to resist injustice, the time will come when justice will be forgotten, and personal rights will be ignored.

Imprisonment for Debt. — In former times, and not so very long ago, those who refused to pay

their lawful debts were imprisoned. In our country we do not punish debtors in that way. We consider it better that such persons should be at liberty and be able to earn something in order that they may eventually pay their debts. However, should a man in obtaining money or goods from another person make entirely false statements of fact, he is guilty of a crime, — that of obtaining money or goods under false pretences. For this wrong he may be imprisoned.

QUESTIONS

1. What would you do if some one arrested you without cause?
2. What is the meaning of an oath in a law court? What is the punishment of false witnesses?
3. What work does the clerk of the court do?
4. Should firemen and policemen be pensioned?
5. Is it right to play ball or to snowball in the public streets? Give your reason.
6. Should a man be forced to pay his just debts if he is able to do so? How can this be done?
7. Define tort; quarantine; insurance; bankrupt; contagious; compromise.
8. What is the difference between a civil and a criminal court?
9. What are the duties of a Board of Health? Why necessary?

CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

A Fundamental Principle. — In most modern states, and especially in our own, it is one of the principles upon which the state is founded that all the people should be trained sufficiently to do their own thinking and to be able to take a part in government as intelligent voters. A republican state must be founded upon the intelligence of its people. It is, therefore, essential that education should be open and free to all. It is because the state cannot do its work without intelligent citizens that it has itself undertaken the work of education. This work is supplemented by private schools, but in the main education in our country is free. Education tends to make all men equal. If they have mental powers that fit them for great success in law or in some other profession, or if they have talents for invention or for engineering, these natural gifts are developed by the schools.

The Common Schools. — The public school is a democratic institution. All kinds of children are



A GROUP OF NEW YORK HIGH SCHOOLS

here brought together. Their parents may be rich or poor, they may be English, Italian, German, Irish, or Russian, — to the state they are all alike. Their opportunities are the same, and the same care is given to their education. Fine large, airy school buildings kept clean and neat within are provided for all. Attractive pictures and statuary make it a pleasure to be within their walls, a pleasure that will be long remembered. Teachers, trained in public institutions provided for that purpose, are in charge, and every facility is offered for a complete education.

The schools are entirely under public control. In school elections, in many of our states, women have a right to vote as well as men, even where they cannot vote in the general elections. This right is given them because they have a special interest in the training of children, and understand the best methods of education. The schools of a city or town are in charge of a school board elected by the people or appointed by the mayor. This board appoints the teachers, makes regulations for the schools, and administers their affairs. It makes contracts for new buildings; it selects teachers; it decides upon text-books; and it provides whatever may be needed for the

efficient working of the schools. In fact, every interest connected with school work is controlled by this body. The excellence of the system of education in any town depends largely upon the



LAWN AND PAVILIONS. THE UNIVERSITY OF VIRGINIA

intelligence and public spirit of the school board. The official director of the schools in the city or town is the superintendent.

Advanced Schools. — The higher branches of learning are taught in high schools and in the university. Many of the great universities are private institutions, but nearly all the states,

especially in the western part of our country, have universities supported by the public. In these every variety of training adapted for the development of the varied talents of men and women is



UNIVERSITY HALL, MADISON, WISCONSIN

offered. In former times, universities existed apart from the life of the people. They devoted themselves to special refinement and to the study of difficult and recondite subjects. To-day, however, especially in our own country, the university is a part of the life of the people. It interests

itself in the general welfare of the state. It works to improve the agriculture, the manufacturing activities, the engineering work, the health, the power, of the commonwealth. It exists for every citizen. If he has not the leisure to go to the university for a period to work there in person, he may receive instruction by letter, his questions will be answered, and advice will be given. Lecturers are also sent by the university to various cities and towns of the state, where, in public discussions, they inform the people about things that are being done in the world of science.

Inventions. — The American nation is noted for its talent for invention. We readily recall many notable inventions that were made in this country. We need only think of the steam-engine, the telegraph, and the telephone. This talent for invention is perhaps due to the fact that our nation found itself in a new and extensive territory, under novel conditions which brought out the power to adapt our action to our needs and to fit ourselves with new means of supplying them. This talent is cultivated by institutions of learning. While they cannot endow a man with genius, they can give him the materials wherewith to work. They can teach him what other people have al-

ready achieved and along what lines new enterprises will be most promising.

Public Libraries. — Another great educational influence in our country comes from public libraries.



CARNEGIE LIBRARY, NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

Nearly every town now has an institution of this kind. There we can get stories and books of travel to provide entertainment for long winter evenings. We can also find books which will inform us about the history of our own and of other nations, about our political institutions, about the facts of science, and about many other important and useful matters. In every home there should be a library of the books that are dearest and most useful to the members of the

family, but we can none of us own all the books we need. The public library enables us to get at any time the information required for our purpose. We can use it for preparing debates or papers for clubs. Very often entertaining and useful lectures are given at the library. It is an excellent place to spend a leisure hour, because while being most agreeably entertained we are also improving our minds and increasing our knowledge.

Mr. Carnegie, a man who lacked the advantages of an education in his early youth, but who later became very successful and immensely rich, has given a large number of libraries to our country. He has said that it was his purpose that other people should be able to have the advantages which he lacked. He believes most thoroughly in the importance of general education for the welfare of our country. Such public gifts are laudable, but it would be unfortunate if the people of this country were to rely entirely on gifts of this nature. That has greatest value which costs us time and labor and self-denial. If some generous man has provided our town with a library building, we should make use of the opportunity and give liberal support to the library itself, in order that it

may make the life of our neighborhood better in every way.

It is one of the most beneficent features of modern civilization that the best things in life, and the



NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

most interesting, can be brought to us wherever we live. It is not necessary that we live in New York or Chicago in order to get the latest news every morning, or to be able to read the great works of literature, or to hear fine music and see beautiful pictures. All these things are brought to us, even in the remotest parts of our country,

through the inventions by which distance has been annihilated and the reproduction of works of art has been made possible. So the library in every town ought to be the center of interest in the wonderful achievements which it is our privilege to enjoy. How unfortunate the community which lives only for itself, and does not share in the enjoyment of art, literature, music, and all the gracious influences that this marvellous age provides!

QUESTIONS

1. How large is the income of the public library in your town, and how is it provided?

2. Is your school board elected or appointed? Name its members.

3. Should all children be required by law to go to school, and is there such a law in your state?

4. What is the legal school age in your state?

5. Should school books be furnished without cost to pupils? Why, or why not?

6. Is free education beyond the high school furnished in your state? Ought it to be?

7. What kind of books are most profitable for young people to read?

8. What is a self-educated man?

9. What does it cost the city or town for your schooling for a year?

10. How much money is paid annually to support the schools of your city or town?

CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC CHARITIES

Caring for the Poor. — Not all the members of a community are healthy and fortunate. Everywhere there are those who through misfortune or sickness have been reduced to a state of dependence. Sometimes this may be their own fault. When young and strong and able to work, they may have neglected their opportunities or wasted their money. When sickness or old age came, they could not provide for themselves. As we benefit from the industry and wisdom of able and fortunate citizens, so we should be willing to bear the burden of those who have been unsuccessful in life, especially when they are not responsible for their misfortunes.

Private benevolence is doing much for such unfortunate people. It is the duty of a family to support relatives who are unable to help themselves. It is unnatural for a son to allow the father who has given him support in his youth to suffer from poverty when old. Fortunately, such

things rarely happen. Many people not only support relatives, but also give to other deserving poor, enabling them to tide over times of misfortune. It is not wise to give aid to every one who asks it. An able-bodied man should not be



CHILDREN'S SCHOOL YARD
The Pittsburgh Playground Association

supported in idleness by the charities of good-natured people. He should be made to earn his living. But it is different with people who suffer from disease or other misfortunes. To help in such cases is a work of humanity.

The state must undertake to provide for the poor, weak, and sick who are not supported by private charity. Children left without their parents must be placed in homes where they will

be given care and education. Those who become insane must be placed in asylums, the sick in hospitals, the aged poor in homes provided for them. Many institutions of this kind are sup-



HOSPITAL, SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

ported by private charity, especially hospitals and orphan asylums. The insane are usually taken care of by the state.

How to care for the poor is not an easy problem. Many of those who most deserve assistance are too modest or too proud to ask for it. They will perhaps rather die than go to a poor-house, although there is no disgrace in poverty when it is a pure misfortune. The aid given to the poor

is often given in public houses and on farms, where all the indigent persons who are dependent upon the community are gathered together. By helping about the house, and by working on the farm, they are made to assist in earning their own living. Another method is called out-door relief. This refers to the distribution of fuel, clothing, and food among the poor. If this system is not managed wisely, it will make paupers of many people. Those weak in character and with little self-respect will prefer not to work, but to rely upon the town or city to provide them with the necessities of life. Much harm has been done by this system in England. A very good method is used in Berlin. There relief will be given to poor people in their homes upon the advice of responsible men in the neighborhood who know the situation thoroughly, and who assist the city officials in their work.

The most desirable condition for a state or community is to have citizens who are neither very rich nor very poor. A self-reliant, independent class who have sufficient income for a comfortable living must be the mainstay of a free republic. As a nation, we should be a great family taking care of our poor. It is to be hoped

that in the future neither the very poor nor the very rich will predominate, but that the nation may continue to be a nation of citizens independent and self-supporting.

Other Charities. — Hospitals and asylums for the insane, the blind, and other unfortunates are found in abundance in our country. Many are supported by private gifts and by income from their patients. Others are maintained entirely at the public expense, and still others jointly by these two agencies. The generous provision made for the care and comfort of the poor and of the unfortunate classes in the community marks the highest advance in our civilization. It shows the growing spirit of brotherhood and the common bond of sympathy and good-will that characterize and unite the people in these modern times. The influence of our nation is gradually extending these and kindred blessings throughout the world.

QUESTIONS

1. What institutions for the care of the sick, poor, and insane are there in your city or county?
2. What is done in your community to protect animals against cruelty?
3. What are some of the causes of poverty?

4. What should be done with able-bodied tramps?
5. Which is of greater value, a hospital or a public library?
6. Is it right to exclude immigrants who come to this country with no money whatever?
7. Is an old-age pension expedient?
8. Are people always made better by receiving charity? Why not?
9. Why should the public maintain hospitals and asylums?
10. How is a person adjudged insane?

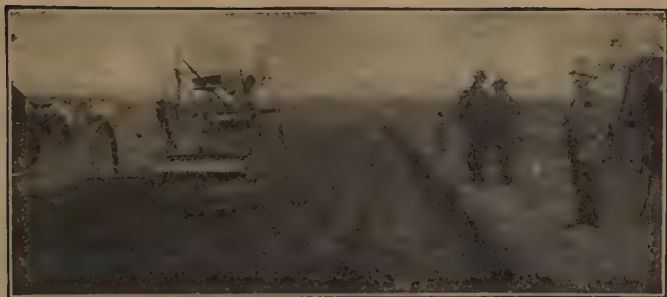
CHAPTER X

THE HIGHWAYS

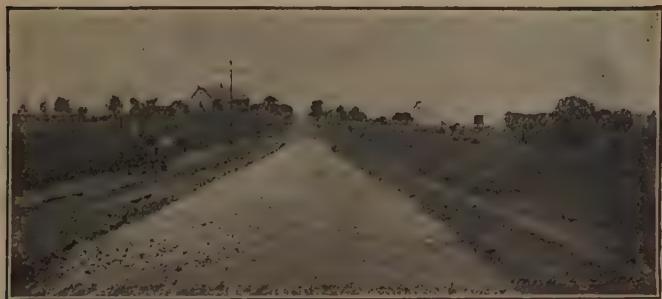
Good Roads.—It has been said that the civilization of a country can be measured by the excellence of its roads. If we should travel in certain parts of England to-day, some companion might remark, “We are now traveling on Watling Street.” This is an old Roman road built over two thousand years ago. The Romans built these excellent highways, which were as straight and level as a modern railway road-bed, in order that their troops might march rapidly from one part of the empire to the other. They built them in so solid a manner that though the surface has required repair from time to time, the substructure of the road is as sound as it ever was. Still for centuries and centuries to come man will be able to use these great works of Roman civilization.

Although we have railways, steel-bound roads over which trains are hurrying from one end of

the country to the other, we also need other highways better than have been constructed heretofore in our country. The products which are hauled over our roads exceed in value those that are carried by railway. Yet, consider what inconvenience it is to farmers to drive for ten or twelve miles over roads which during many times in the year are almost bottomless. Money expended to improve these highways will certainly bring abundant returns. Not only will farmers and men who haul lumber and building stone benefit from such improvements, but they will be an advantage to every person living in the land. Automobiles will, perhaps, soon be so inexpensive that nearly every one will be able to afford what is now a luxury. We may then enjoy the delights of travel among the beautiful lakes, mountains, and forests of our commonwealth. Nothing brings more joy and health than life out of doors, and good roads will attract people to spend more time with nature. In the use of roads we should, of course, be careful of the rights of others. A man who drives an automobile on a public highway as if he were on a private speedway deserves severe treatment. Every one of us is interested in having speed



SUB-GRADE FORMED WITH ROAD MACHINE



FIRST COURSE OF STONE LAID ON SUB-GRADE



FINISHED ROAD

limits observed, for otherwise no one could use the roads in safety and comfort.

Country Roads. — In country districts the care of roads is usually in the hands of towns or coun-



A MODERN BRIDGE

ties. These roads are not often scientifically built; but the tax-paying citizens get together and work off their road tax or poll-tax by making improvements under the direction of an official selected for the purpose. There is need of more instruction in road making, so that the work will be permanently useful. The building of streets in cities is a more difficult matter, because such streets are in constant use, and so need to

be far more durable than country roads. The right kind of pavement must be selected and care taken that the streets are kept in good repair.

Clean Streets. — Nothing presents a more unpleasant aspect than a town with neglected streets, filled with rubbish heaps and weeds, blocked up by boxes and wood-piles. It does not take a traveler long to form an opinion of the character of the inhabitants of such a place, especially if he comes from a town where the streets are kept clean, where weeds are not allowed to grow, where ashes and rubbish are removed promptly, and where in business streets the pavement and the sidewalks are kept clear of boxes and crates. The appearance of streets is very much improved by shade trees and strips of lawn. There should be some system in planting trees. Some streets might have elms, others maples, others walnuts. They should be planted at proper distances apart. It is, therefore, desirable that there should be in every town or city some official familiar with landscape gardening, who can advise the people upon the best arrangement of parks, trees, and lawns.

The city or town is our home just as much as

the house in which we live. As we take pride in having our rooms swept and clean, our houses painted, our lawns clear of leaves and rubbish,



A PUBLIC PARK

so no less should we take pride in beautifying our city or village. Attractive surroundings make every hour of our lives more enjoyable.

Parks and Playgrounds. — Parks are to a city what a flower-garden is to a home. They do not bring any income, but in the enjoyment which the people get from them they pay many times over for any outlay of money which they may

require. Some of our large cities have very extensive park systems. Central Park in New York, Lincoln Park in Chicago, Fairmount Park in Philadelphia, are extensive grounds beautified by trees, shrubs, and flowers, with lakes, waterfalls, and fountains to furnish variety, and collections of wild animals to lend interest. In many parks monuments are found erected to statesmen and other citizens who have been benefactors of the community. Great poets and writers whose works have given joy and strength are also honored in this way.

Many cities throughout the country are providing playgrounds for children. These are furnished with gymnastic apparatus, swimming-pools, and a full equipment for games and sport of all kinds. Large sums of money are raised to maintain these playgrounds. Fresh air, regulated amusement, and wise physical exercise are recognized as necessary to health.

Streets, parks, libraries, public picture galleries, are our property. They exist for our advantage. In former times the palace of the lord would have a beautiful park adjoining it. In the high halls within he would accumulate paintings and art treasures, but no one would be admitted to

see these beautiful things unless he were a friend of the owner. To-day the people themselves own palaces of this kind. The library buildings, the art galleries, the museums, are palaces as



CHILDREN'S PLAYGROUND IN CENTRAL PARK, NEW YORK

beautiful in architecture as any that may be found. Here the people are at home. These beautiful buildings exist for our advantage. But as we own them we must also take care of them, preserve their beauty intact, make use of the advantages they offer, and be willing to support them by our own contributions.

QUESTIONS

1. How far do you think that the states should support and control the building of country roads?

2. Would it be better if people paid their road tax in money instead of working it off?

3. Why are our country roads generally so poor?

4. What would you do if a telephone or electric-light company should want to cut down a favorite tree in the street in front of your house, in order to make room for a pole for wires?

5. How are ashes and garbage disposed of in your town?

6. Are the streets which you use kept clean and free from rubbish?

7. What is the condition of the grounds around your schoolhouse? Suggest some improvements.

8. What do you think of an organization among school children to aid in keeping streets clean and making school grounds attractive?

9. What are some arguments in favor of public playgrounds?

10. Why should free baths and gymnasiums be furnished at public expense?

11. Make a list of the monuments erected in honor of famous men, which you have seen.

12. What advantages do good roads give the farmers?

13. Are you doing your part in keeping the streets of your city clean?

14. What can you do to bring about cleaner streets? Will you try?

CHAPTER XI

PUBLIC WORKS IN CITIES

City versus Country. — If we lived in the country, we should depend upon wells for water for domestic uses. For light we should burn kerosene, or possibly candles. Horses would furnish our means of getting from place to place. In cities, however, these inconvenient methods have been set aside, and united action has given us what is much better. Our water is supplied from distant reservoirs and brought through pipes to our houses. Gas or electricity from some public source of supply furnishes us a brilliant light. Electric cars carry us quickly wherever we wish to go at trifling cost. All these things become so necessary that we cannot get along without them. A street railway president was once asked what a person should do when the railways charge too much. He answered, "Let him walk." That was not a fair answer, because, under the conditions of city life,

most of us are obliged to use the electric cars. Some of these public works have been built and are maintained by the community itself. Most



A WATER RESERVOIR, BOSTON WATERWORKS. WACHUSETT DAM,
CLINTON

cities own their waterworks and supply water at fixed rates to the people. The cities also construct sewers through which the waste is carried off.

Public Franchises. — Private companies or corporations, however, generally supply the public with light, transportation, telephones, etc. They

get the right to furnish these things through what is called a charter or *franchise*. A franchise may be defined as the contract of a city or town with a corporation by which the latter is given the right to use the public streets for railway tracks, electric-light and telephone poles, and similar purposes. Through the franchise the corporation is also authorized to charge a certain price for its service to the public. It will readily be seen that the proper fulfilment of these contracts is very important. It makes a great difference whether the light furnished us is poor and expensive or of good quality and cheap, and it is essential that street-cars should be clean, the service regular and rapid, and the fare reasonable. We are, therefore, greatly interested in the contracts which our city government makes with public corporations. These contracts should be publicly made so that the people may know about them and have the opportunity of criticising them. Franchises are valuable property, and they should not be granted for an indefinite time without a proper return. They should provide for fair rates and good service, as well as for safety appliances by which accidents may be prevented.

Public Utilities Commissions. — In some states public utilities commissions have been created. If we are dissatisfied with the service given by a public service corporation, if our electric lights will not burn, if the street-cars do not run on time, if unreasonable rates are charged, we can appeal to this commission and bring our complaint before it. The corporations which invest their money in such industries should, of course, be protected so that they may receive a fair return upon their investment. But they should not be permitted to tax the people for services which have never been performed or for values which have no real existence.

QUESTIONS

1. What public works are being managed by your city government?
2. Should the city manage the gas and electric light plants?
3. Could the street railways use steam locomotives?
4. Where is the drinking water in your house obtained? What does it cost you?
5. What kind of light do you have in your home, and how and where is it produced?
6. What is a franchise? How obtained?

CHAPTER XII

THE DEVELOPMENT OF PUBLIC WEALTH: WATERWAYS

Our Natural Resources. — Nature has endowed our country with almost unequaled wealth in forests, mines, agricultural lands, and other natural resources. We ought not, however, to act as if this wealth were inexhaustible. As a matter of fact, very much of it has already been wasted and carelessly destroyed. The prices of commodities like lumber are already very much higher than they should be in a new country. This is due to the fact that the timber was not properly protected, so that forest fires, started by negligence, were allowed to destroy millions of dollars' worth of fine timber. The time has now come when our nation is beginning to take far greater care of its natural wealth. It is protecting its timber, replanting its forests, and giving attention to the proper use of mineral and agricultural lands.

Transportation. — Nothing is more important to the development of the wealth of a country than cheap transportation. If machinery can be



YELLOW PINE FOREST, CALIFORNIA

carried inexpensively to the mines and forests, and the products of the latter can be returned to the large cities, the centers of industry, the entire nation will be prosperous and wealthy. Railways are the main reliance for transportation, but they can never be so inexpensive as the natural roads provided by rivers and by canals built by engineering enterprise. The Mississippi

River, with all its tributaries, the Columbia River, the Hudson, the Erie Canal, and the Great Lakes, are only some of the most important of such water ways. To give some idea of the amount of merchandise carried in this way, it will be sufficient to say that the shipping which goes through Lake Huron is several times the shipping that goes out of the great port of New York. It is, therefore, plain that the improvement of such water ways is greatly to be desired. In order that the water in the rivers may be sufficient and uniform in quantity, it is necessary that our forests should be preserved against further destruction. The work of improving these water ways is undertaken chiefly by the national government, which also improves our harbors and constructs our harbor works. Whether the harbor is on a river, like New Orleans, or a lake, like Milwaukee, or on the ocean, like San Diego, the cost of improvements, dredging and marking the channel, building breakwaters, piers, and jetties, is borne by the nation as a whole.

Lighthouses. — The nation also provides for the safety of the coasts by the construction and maintenance of lighthouses. Every headland, the entrance to every harbor, every prominent or

dangerous point on the Great Lakes, has its light to warn and guide the mariner. These beacons vary in construction and character. They are marked on sailing charts, and are of priceless value. Indeed, without them the navigation of the coasts, the lakes, and the rivers would be impossible.

They are built and supported by the government at an annual expense of millions.

There are more than 14,000 aids to navigation in this country, including 5000 lights, 1800 being post lights used chiefly on rivers, and 500 fog signals. They are of inestimable value in preserving life and property.

Life-saving Service.—The United States government also maintains the life-saving service.



LIGHTHOUSE

There are over two hundred and seventy stations on the Atlantic, the Gulf of Mexico, the Pacific, and the Great Lakes. To support these costs \$2,000,000 a year. But in one year, 1906, the



BREECHES-BUOY DRILL

Man being taken off wreck

service saved fifty-three hundred lives and \$12,000,000 worth of property.

In a life-saving station a member of the crew is always in the lookout tower searching with the aid of strong glasses for any signal of distress. Others patrol the shore for the same purpose. Should a vessel be in danger at night, it will send up sky-rockets as a call for help. As soon as a vessel in this condition is discovered, the life-saving crew mans the life-boat and rows out to

the ship to rescue those in peril. Sometimes the sea is so rough or the breakers so high that no boat can reach the ship. Then a rope is attached to a heavy copper ball and shot from the shore over the ship, so that it may be caught in the rigging. This rope is then fastened taut to the masts and to a post on shore, and in a large basket slung to it, those on the ship are brought safely to the land. All the operations of the life-saving service require great promptness, courage, coolness, and skill.

QUESTIONS

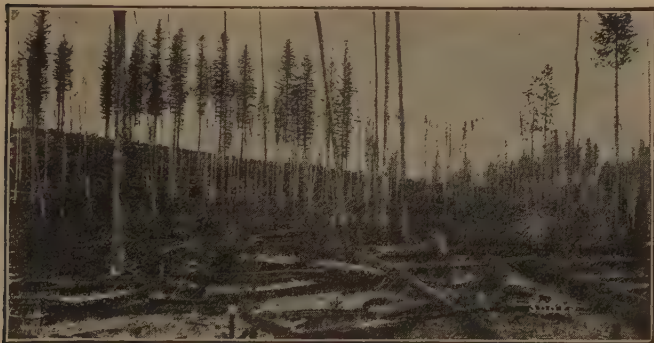
1. Name some of the means of transportation used in various parts of the world.
2. Which are the two most important?
3. Which of these is the cheaper, and why?
4. Mention some of the principal water ways of the United States.
5. Show the value of the proposed water way from Chicago to New Orleans.
6. What are some of the essentials of a good harbor?
7. Find out the different kinds of lighthouses and lights used in them.
8. What are bell-buoys? Fog whistles? Post lights?
9. Which is of greater value, the lighthouse or the life-saving service?
10. What are some of the qualities required of men in these two kinds of public service?
11. What is the use of a lock in a canal?

CHAPTER XIII

FORESTS

The Value of Forests. — One of the greatest sources of wealth in a country consists of its forests. Not only do forests furnish material for houses, ships, furniture, railways, firewood, etc., but large forest areas also preserve the rainfall and keep the rivers from drying up. They make the rainfall regular, so that the country does not suffer from long periods of drought which are so destructive to the products of the farm. The territory of the United States was originally covered with vast forests. Many valuable kinds of timber abounded, — pine, fir, hemlock, oak, and others. When the settlers entered these primeval forests, they destroyed large sections by fire in order to get land for farming. As a nation needs a large amount of farm land, this action of the early settlers was necessary. As our nation grew, much timber was needed for houses, bridges, and other purposes.

Destruction of Forests. — The forests were in large part sold by the government to citizens and corporations. These owners desired to make money as fast as possible. They, therefore, at



LODGEPOLE PINE, OREGON

Result of a careless fire. — Reforestation

once cut down the timber, and did not replace the trees by planting. Moreover, they were not able properly to guard the forests against fires. Forest fires, starting perhaps from a carelessly laid camp fire of hunters, swept over the area of whole counties, destroying timber to the value of many million dollars in a few days. If utter wastefulness and lack of care should continue, the nation would soon be robbed of all its forest wealth,

Forest Reserves. — Successive presidents of the United States, Mr. Cleveland, Mr. McKinley, and Mr. Roosevelt, took up this matter and urged legislation upon Congress by which our forests



TWO YEARS FROM SAGE BRUSH, IDAHO, BY IRRIGATION

would be protected. Large national *forest reserves* were created. These forest reserves comprise an area of over one hundred thousand square miles, being larger than the states of Wisconsin and Illinois taken together. These reserves are watched over by men called rangers, employed by the government. The careless laying of fires is entirely forbidden, and people who endanger the forests by carelessness will be punished.

The timber on these forest reserves is sold to

individuals or corporations at a fixed price. They may cut it and carry it off to be sawed into lumber. The government plants new trees in the place of those which have been cut down, so that an after-growth of timber will always keep up the original value of the land. These forest reserves are so located that they protect the head waters of our great rivers and secure a uniform flow of water throughout the year.

If farmers desire to settle in the forest reserves, taking up land suitable for agriculture, they are permitted to do so. In this way all the lands which can be used for farming will be put under cultivation. The right of grazing cattle over the forest areas will also be granted for a proper remuneration to persons who own herds which they desire to pasture in the forest regions. In this manner it is believed that the full value of our great forests will be realized. The lumberman, the miner, the cattle owner, the farmer, will all be able, under reasonable restrictions and for proper compensation, to make use of these national reserves. None will be permitted to exhaust them or to destroy their value. Moreover, the lower lands will be improved by having water in the rivers, which can be used for irrigation and

for carrying lumber and other produce to the markets.

Irrigation. — A large part of the land in our Western states is without rainfall, or receives so



AN IRRIGATING DITCH, WASHINGTON

little rain that farming cannot be carried on successfully. The soil in much of this land is very fertile, so that if a water supply can be provided, it will produce even finer crops than an ordinary farming country. Here, too, the government is assisting the people to develop our natural wealth. It is constructing large reservoirs in which during the rainy season the waters of the rivers are gathered. These waters are then distributed over the adjoining lands by

means of irrigation canals. Where formerly there was a desert, barren and wild, growing nothing but rough bushes and rank weeds, there are now found beautiful fruit orchards and fields of waving grain.

State Reservations. — Many of the states have likewise created forest reserves upon land belonging to them in order to preserve fine forest areas. They are managed in much the same way as the national reservations, although, of course, much smaller. The work of a forester or *forest ranger* is very healthful and interesting. He rides horseback from sunrise to sunset through the most beautiful forest and mountain scenery, visiting agricultural settlements and passing through the wooded areas to see that no illegal act is committed.

National Parks. — Some of the most attractive regions in our country have been reserved by the nation or by a state as public parks. In these no lands may be sold or leased, but they are kept entirely for the enjoyment of the public. They are great national pleasure grounds where we may go to enjoy the marvellous beauty of nature. Such is the Yellowstone National Park, with its grand mountain scenery, its geysers, its water-

falls, and the gorgeous coloring of its rocks. Such is the Yosemite Park in California, which is famous the world over for its scenery. Itasca



VIEW IN ONE OF OUR NATIONAL PARKS

Park, at the head waters of the Mississippi River in the state of Minnesota, Niagara Falls Park in New York, overlooking one of the wonders of nature, and the Adirondack Park in the same state, amidst the delightful mountain scenery adjoining Lake Champlain, — these are some of the parks maintained by states. We should as a nation and as commonwealths preserve and pro-

tect these beautiful regions which nature has created for the delight of mankind. No money can restore their beauty when once it has been destroyed. If the Falls of Niagara should be dried up by having the waters of the lake drawn off to furnish an electric current for New York City, a few men would be enriched, but the nation would be poorer by the loss of one of the marvels of nature that has made our country famous the world over. We should, therefore, strive to preserve whatever is beautiful or useful in nature in our neighborhood and in the country at large.

QUESTIONS

1. What is a forest reserve? Why necessary, and how used?
2. What is irrigation? Where used? Does irrigation pay?
3. What are the duties of a forest ranger?
4. Name four National Parks.
5. Why should these parks be maintained by the government?

CHAPTER XIV

PUBLIC LANDS

The Homestead Act. — The lands of our country originally belonged to the government, but the larger part of them has been sold to individuals or corporations. Much land has been disposed of under the homestead act. By this act any citizen is permitted to take up a claim of one hundred and sixty acres of agricultural land. If he resides thereon for five years, cultivating a part of it, it will become his own absolutely at the end of that period. Under our national laws, mining and timber claims can also be taken up by individuals in return for a certain payment to the government. These acts do not apply to the forest reserves which we have already described and where special regulations are enforced.

Aids to Agriculture. — The nation and the states exert themselves to make farming more and more profitable and productive. In order to give farmers an opportunity to raise new kinds of crops, seeds are distributed by the federal

government free of charge. These are not ordinary seeds which every one can readily obtain, but they produce new varieties of grains, vegetables, or fruits, the introduction of which will really benefit a farming community. Experts employed by the government are also studying the introduction of new plants which have not been cultivated in our country before, or of varieties of plants more productive than those now in use. So a new kind of wheat was recently brought from Alaska. It is an especially fertile and hardy variety. Under the cold and unfavorable conditions in the northern territory it seems that the wheat had to make special effort to become strong and healthy, and that it succeeded in this effort. Our country uses large quantities of coffee, tea, and rice, most of which is imported from foreign countries. Rice cultivation has, however, now been developed in the South. Government experts have also shown that tea of a superior quality can be grown on the hills and highlands of our Southern states.

QUESTIONS

1. Find out more fully what is necessary in order to obtain a homestead from the government.

2. Are there any forest reserves in your state?
3. Is there still much public land in your state?
4. How do forests affect the rainfall?
5. Tell the meaning of primeval; homestead; ranger; agriculture; irrigation; geyser.
6. Give some reasons why forests should be preserved.
7. Give some facts about the Yellowstone or Yosemite Park.
8. Of what value is Niagara Falls? How may it be destroyed?
9. Should the government furnish seeds without cost to farmers?
10. Find out all you can about the growing of rice.
11. From what country do we import the most rice? Why?
12. How can you obtain the seeds furnished by the government?
13. Why should the government or the state establish agricultural schools? Are there any in your state? Where?

CHAPTER XV

MONEY

The Medium of Exchange. — Money is one of the most necessary instruments of modern civilization. We all know how necessary it is to our own personal convenience. If there were no money, all exchanges would have to be made directly. If we had manufactured some chairs, but needed a horse, we should have to hunt about for a man who was in need of chairs and desired to dispose of a horse. Money enables us to save all this trouble. The man who wants our chairs comes to us and pays us in cash, which we can take and exchange for anything we desire. It is, however, very important that this money should be the same the country over, and that it should be perfectly safe and stable in its value. If a dollar should be worth one hundred cents to-day and only seventy-five cents next month, great loss and uncertainty would result in business affairs.

The National Mint. — The government undertakes to give us a stable national currency. The

national government has the sole right to coin money and to issue paper currency. Even if one took the pure silver and stamped upon it the same



THE UNITED STATES MINT, PHILADELPHIA

devices that are seen on our dollar, his action would be against the law and would be punished. No one is permitted to issue money except the government of the nation. The money issued is either of metal or of paper. We have copper cents; nickel five-cent pieces; silver dimes, quarters, half dollars, and dollars; gold dollars, and five-, ten-, and twenty-dollar gold coins. The ten-dollar coin is also called an eagle, but this name is not frequently used. If we owe money to any one and offer him gold or silver dollars, he is obliged to accept this money in payment for the debt. We

say that such money is *legal tender*, because, when we tender it, it must be accepted by the creditor. Not all coins are legal tender. Thus, copper coins are legal tender only up to the amount of twenty-five cents. If we should go with a wheelbarrow full of cents to pay a debt of \$50, our creditor could refuse to take the coins and demand payment in silver or gold.

A Substitute for Coin. — Paper money is also issued by the government, although some of it bears the imprint of the national banks. National bank-notes are secured by the government, and are, therefore, as good as other currency. The government should not issue more paper money than its credit allows. We should be able to get gold or silver at any time for the paper issued by the government. If the government should issue too much paper money, it would fall in value and cause great confusion and loss. No matter how rich a government is, its credit is limited, like that of an individual. In other words, there is a limit beyond which people will not lend it any money.

QUESTIONS

1. What gives coin its value?
2. What gives a ten-dollar bill its value?

3. What substitutes for gold and silver money were used in early times ?

4. What is counterfeiting ? Why ought it to be punished ?

5. Why is gold better than silver for coins ?

6. For what amount is silver legal tender ?

7. Why cannot state governments coin money ?

8. Describe the designs on United States coins.

9. What means are taken to prevent the counterfeiting of our currency ?

10. What is a mint ? Where are the United States mints located ?

11. Do all peoples use money as a medium of exchange ? Why not ?

12. Why are some coins worth more than their face value ? Name two.

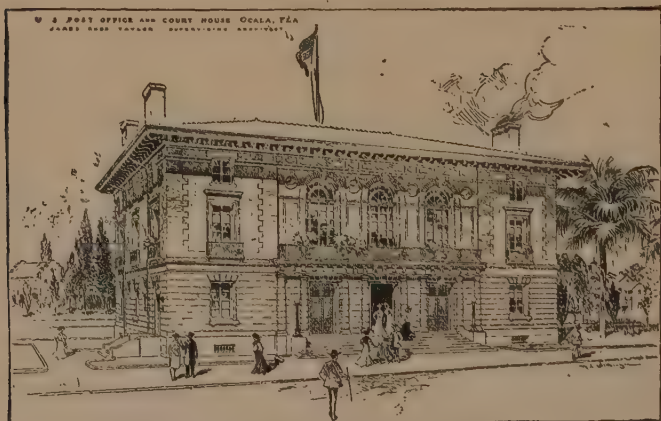
CHAPTER XVI

THE MAILS

Transmission of Letters. — One of the most important branches of the federal government is the Post-office Department. Long ago, if one desired to send a letter to a person at a distance, he would have to employ a special messenger for the purpose. Later, the service of carrying letters for the public was conducted by private enterprise. By the time our government was founded, other governments had established a mail service, so that this became one of the lines of work undertaken by the United States from the beginning. It is a great convenience to be able to drop a letter into a near-by mail-box, and without further care, and at a trifling expense, to have it delivered safely and quickly in the most distant part of the country, or even beyond the seas. Business could not be now carried on properly without such rapid communication.

Postmasters. — At the present time — 1909 — there are about seventy-seven thousand post-

offices in the United States. They are divided into four classes, according to the amount of business done in each. There were 8600 post-



A UNITED STATES POST-OFFICE IN FLORIDA
Typical of the new buildings

offices of the first three classes in 1915. The postmasters in these are appointed by the President with the approval of the Senate. The postmasters of the fourth class, of which there are about 48,000, are appointed by the Postmaster General. He generally appoints a citizen of a locality whose friends and neighbors support him. Women may also fill such positions, as postmistresses.

The subordinate officials in the larger post-offices are appointed after examination in the various common and high-school branches. Those who pass have their names enrolled on a list from which the appointments must be made. A mail-clerk must have a good knowledge of the geography of this and other countries. He must know by what routes certain post-offices can be reached. If a letter is to be sent to China, he must know whether the next steamer leaves from San Francisco or Seattle or Vancouver. As he has thousands of letters and packages to distribute every day, this knowledge must always be instantly ready.

Railway Mail Service. — The railway mail service also requires much intelligent and rapid work. We have all seen a mail-car and observed its internal arrangement. A large number of mail-bags are hung up along the inside of the car. There is a mail-bag for every town on the route of the train and for important cities farther along. As the mail is hastily dumped into the mail-car at the different stations, the mail-clerk sorts it and places every individual piece in the proper pouch.

The railway companies are paid very liberally for carrying the mails. It is difficult to determine

just how much they should receive for this service, because the amount of mail that is sent over the line varies greatly from time to time. The government pays for the use of the mail-cars, but per-



CHICAGO AND NORTHWESTERN RAILWAY DEPOT

This depot, with land and approaches, will cost \$20,000,000

haps it would be better if it owned all the cars used in the service.

Classes of Mail Matter. — Mail matter is divided into four classes. In the first class are letters and sealed packages, or anything containing writing. The rate on this class is two cents for each ounce. The second-class mail is composed of newspapers and magazines sent out directly by the publishers. They pay only one cent a pound. This rate is, of course, far too small to pay the actual expenses of the service of handling this mail. It is, however, looked upon as educational work to dis-

tribute cheaply among the people of the nation newspapers and magazine literature. When a newspaper is sent through the mails by a person other than the publisher, the postage is one cent for each four ounces. The third class comprises miscellaneous printed matter weighing four pounds or less, on which the rate is one cent for two ounces. The fourth class, or parcel post, comprises all matter not included in previous classes. Packages up to fifty pounds are now carried through the mails at rates that vary according to distance from mailing point.

Money-orders.—Post-offices also issue money-orders, by means of which money is transmitted from one place to another. Should a person desire an acknowledgment of the receipt of a letter or package sent, it is registered by the post-office and placed in a special envelope to insure safe delivery. The income of the government from all these sources is very large, and yet it is not sufficient to pay the expenses of the service. The salary of one hundred and fifty thousand post-masters and employees, the charges paid to the railways for carrying the mails, the cost of new buildings, and similar expenses exceed the income of the service by many million dollars. The

total cost of the service is over \$200,000,000 a year.

QUESTIONS

1. How much would it cost to send this book through the mails?
2. Describe the work of a postmaster.
3. Why should the government charge more for carrying a letter than a newspaper?
4. To send a letter from Boston to Chicago once cost twenty-five cents. Now it costs two cents. Account for the difference in cost.
5. What do the letters R.F.D. stand for?
6. What is meant by "parcel post"? Postal savings banks? The International Postal Union? Money orders?
7. What is a parcel post "zone"? Will the parcel post be of help to farmers? To city people? Why?
8. What does it cost to send a letter from San Francisco to London? To Paris? To Peking?
9. In what countries have postal savings banks been established?
10. What advantage are they to the people?
11. In what class is your post-office? Why?
12. What is the salary of your postmaster?
13. What are the proper ways to send money by mail? Why?

CHAPTER XVII

FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Our Relations with Other Nations. — Our nation is so great, rich, and powerful that it might seem in no way dependent on any one else, that it could do what it pleased and get what it wished by its own strength. Yet this is not the case. Every nation, no matter how strong, is in some way dependent upon other countries and other parts of the world. It is a member of the family of nations, and it must exert itself to be in good relations with its neighbors. As we are polite and considerate to persons with whom we come in contact in our daily life, so nations should be considerate of one another. They should respect one another's rights and not do anything from a feeling of hostility or malice.

The Promotion of Commerce. — If we consider a little, we shall see how dependent we are upon other parts of the world in certain matters. In our daily life we need very many things which

are not produced in our country. The products of the tropics like quinine, rubber, precious woods



A SHIPPING SCENE IN NEW YORK

like mahogany and ebony, articles of food like coffee and tea, are not produced in our country. Many other things which we need are not raised in sufficiently large quantities to satisfy our needs. For all these things we have to depend on others. We have to purchase them from the producers in other countries. There are also many manufactured articles which the people in foreign countries can make better or cheaper than they can be pro-

duced here, so that we buy them from abroad. On the other hand, we desire to sell to the people of other countries the products of our manufactories and of our farms. In many lines we produce and manufacture more than we can use for ourselves. By selling the things we do not need to other nations, we secure money with which to buy foreign products which are necessary for our convenience or welfare. So we have many business relations with other countries. We also want some of our engineers to go to other parts of the world to build railways or bridges, or to set up great electrical plants for providing cities with light and power. If we all had to stay at home and confine our work and trade to our own country, we should lose many advantages.

Passports. — In order that all these activities may go on, our government makes agreements or treaties with other countries by which our commerce is protected and by which our citizens are permitted to travel freely and safely in foreign lands. Before leaving this country for foreign parts, an American citizen will obtain from the government a *passport*. This is a document signed by the Secretary of State, in which the name and a description of the bearer are given, and

which calls upon a foreign government to afford him protection and other privileges. In other countries, should one desire the government to interfere in his behalf, he will show his passport and thus prove his right to protection. As we expect these favors from foreign governments, we should be hospitable to their citizens who come to our shores.

Diplomats. — In order that our interests and our citizens may be protected in foreign countries, our government has representatives stationed in all parts of the world. These are either *diplomats* or *consuls*. The diplomats — ambassadors, envoys, and ministers — represent the political interests of the nation. They report to our State Department about conditions in foreign countries, and when treaties are to be made, they represent our government. Great honor is accorded to diplomats because they are held to represent the majesty of their country. Their persons are sacred, and they cannot be arrested or interfered with in any manner by the foreign government. It was, therefore, a serious breach of law when the Chinese populace in Peking in 1900 attacked the legations and threatened to kill the representatives of other nations and their families. A nation permitting

such a crime is severely dealt with by the other countries.

Consuls. — The *consuls* are officials who look after the commercial interests of our country. They make reports upon opportunities for introducing American goods and manufactures in foreign lands. When merchandise is imported, they issue a certificate of its value, called an invoice. The consuls are intrusted with the special care of American sailors who may find themselves in foreign ports. They must see that the contracts made with these sailors are duly fulfilled, and that they are not dismissed from a ship without proper payment. In every way the consuls will also protect and care for the interests of citizens traveling abroad. When one finds himself in a foreign city, it is very pleasant to see the United States coat of arms above a doorway or to see the United States flag floating there. This indicates the home or office of a consul or diplomat. Americans are always welcome in such places, but they should be careful not to trouble the consuls, who are very busy men, with private affairs, unless a real need exists.

The State Department. — All these officials are under the control of the Department of State,

at the head of which is the highest official in the cabinet, the Secretary of State. This department watches over our interests in foreign countries. If the goods of American merchants are boycotted



INTERNATIONAL BUREAU OF THE AMERICAN REPUBLICS

in China, the State Department will try to induce the Chinese government to protect our commerce. When a European country threatens to exclude our goods, the State Department will attempt to make a treaty by which their continued admission will be secured. These are examples of the many ways in which the State Department protects the interests of our commerce. But it is not only commerce, but every interest and pursuit of the American people, that the State Department makes its own and looks after in foreign lands.

Treaties. — When a treaty has been worked out by the Department of State and agreed to by the foreign government with which it is made, the President will submit it to the Senate. Under the Constitution, the Senate must be consulted concerning every treaty, and no treaty will go into force without its approval. This gives the Senate great power over our foreign affairs. It is to be desired that while we stand up for our own interests and rights, we also respect those of other countries and be willing to work with them for the benefit of mankind.

QUESTIONS

1. Find out what you can concerning the Hague Conference.
2. What governments are interested in a Pan-American conference?
3. What is the advantage of having a photograph attached to a passport?
4. Try to tell the difference between an ambassador and a foreign minister.
5. What is a "boycott"? Is it just? ✓
6. How are treaties arranged? How ratified? "
7. Define commerce; imports; exports; passport; diplomat; consul.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE ARMY AND NAVY

Peace Assured. — The ordinary relations between the countries of the world are as peaceful as those between adjoining villages in our own country. It is desirable that nations should live in peace, should respect one another's rights, and should not give offense to one another. Peace brings happiness and prosperity. War means suffering, destruction, death. Our country is especially fortunate. We have no hostile neighbors who are seeking to attack us or who are jealous of our prosperity. The broad waters of the oceans, the Atlantic and the Pacific, protect our fair land from invasion. There is no other country in the world that nature has provided with a position so safe and well protected.

Strength a Defense. — Yet it is necessary that we should have an army and a navy. Formerly, the army was used only for protection against the Indians, but at the present time the Indian tribes

have been almost entirely subdued, so that a very small force is sufficient for this purpose. Every great nation in the world, however, must maintain its power, just as a man who may be perfectly peaceful and without desire to injure his neighbors in any way will still keep his body in good condition, strong and well. If the nation desires to be safe at all times, it must keep strong, so that no one will be tempted to take advantage of it.

The army of the United States need not be large, for should a war arise it could be rapidly increased. If our nation should be attacked, the entire people would arise as a man to defend their



BATTLE MONUMENT, WEST POINT

homes and their country. In peaceful times, therefore, a large army is unnecessary.

The Army. — *The army* of the United States in the year 1915 numbered about eighty-five thousand



ACADEMIC BUILDING, WEST POINT

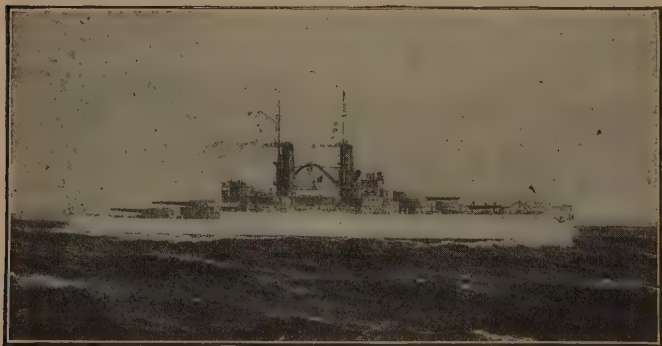
soldiers. The President is the commander-in-chief, but the officer at the head of the troops bears the title of lieutenant general. In order that an army may be efficient, its officers must receive complete and thorough military education and training. For this purpose the government maintains a military academy at West Point on the Hudson. The ground is historic, the location

is delightful, and the buildings and equipment provide for every need. Here young men selected for especial fitness, from all parts of the Union, are trained for four years in the art of war. Every congressional district is entitled to send one student to this academy, and each state has a right to an additional two. After a course of training extending over four years, the graduates of West Point are given a command in the army as lieutenants. The army itself is recruited from volunteers; that is, no one is forced to serve in the army, but those who like the life of the soldier may enlist. They are then paid for their service.

Militia.—In addition to the regular army of the United States there exists in each state a body of troops called the *militia*. These are citizen soldiers that do not make a business of army service. They are men from all walks of life who frequently come together for the purpose of practicing military movements. In summer the militia assemble at a state camp, where they have special drills and manœuvres. The militia is the best kind of a military force for a republic. It keeps alive the training of the soldier, and at the same time it does not constitute a force which can be used against the liberties of the people.

The regular army should never be made so large that the entire people could be oppressed by it.

The Navy. — The most important branch of national defense is *the navy*. The greatest battles

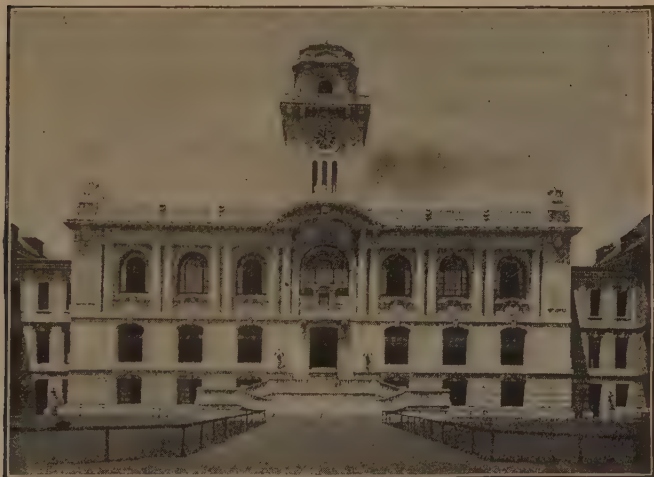


THE "MICHIGAN"

One of our 16,000 ton battleships

in the future will probably be fought on the water. When a nation at war has lost its navy, its chances for victory are usually very small. For this reason the nations of the world are at the present time spending great sums of money for the building of powerful war ships. A war vessel is the most powerful product of national industry. It takes great talent and experience to handle such a ship, to manage its propelling engines and all the electric machinery by which the gun towers are turned

and heavy doors opened or shut. The largest guns on a man-of-war carry a missile weighing nearly one thousand pounds, which at a distance



UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY
Courtesy of the American Architect

of seven miles will go through a solid steel plate eighteen inches thick. You can imagine how quickly guns of this kind would reduce to a heap of ruins a city like Boston or San Francisco, or any city located near the sea. These war ships are very expensive. The larger among them cost from \$5,000,000 to \$10,000,000. The cost of one

war ship would provide a state with a system of fine roads, and yet these magnificent machines may be crushed into a heap of scrap-iron in a minute by the action of torpedoes. It would seem that the tremendous cost of war alone will soon lead nations to find some other method of settling their difficulties.

The Naval Academy. — It requires great skill and experience to command and control a modern battle ship. Those who manage its intricate machinery must be carefully trained. The government has therefore established a naval school at Annapolis, Maryland, where officers and midshipmen are thoroughly educated and trained in everything pertaining to naval warfare. Several millions of dollars have been spent in perfecting its buildings and equipment.

QUESTIONS

1. Why is a large navy more important for us than a large army?
2. What qualifications for admission are demanded of West Point cadets?
3. When is war justifiable?
4. Is military drill in schools advisable?
5. Tell something of your state militia.
6. What is the cost of a first-class battle ship?

7. How long would this money support the schools of your city or town?

8. Write a composition on the Naval Academy at Annapolis, telling how cadets are appointed, how many there are, what they must know to be admitted, what the course of study is, etc.

9. Which is entitled to greater honor, a statesman like John Hay or a naval hero like Admiral Dewey?

10. Who is the cadet now at West Point from your district? How, when, and by whom was he appointed?

11. Is there a company of militia in your town? Find out its name, the names of the officers, to what regiment it belongs, and other matters of interest concerning it.

12. Name two important naval battles which have taken place within the last fifteen years.

13. What nations were concerned in these battles, and which were victorious?

14. What foreign territory has been acquired by the United States as the result of recent wars?

15. What should the United States do with this territory?

CHAPTER XIX

TAXATION

The Expenses of Government. — In the preceding chapters we have seen the various ways in which the government acts in behalf of the people. We have seen how it defends and protects them against foreign attack and internal disorder. We have seen how it carries and distributes the mails, how it provides for education, how it develops the natural wealth of the country in forests and agricultural lands. For most of these advantages the people benefited do not pay directly. The government practically provides them freely in order to advance the general interest. All these things, however, cost a great deal of money, and hence the expenses of government are very great. This money is raised by taxation of one kind or another, and comes indirectly from all the people.

Oppressive Taxation. — In early times taxation could hardly be distinguished from robbery. We have already seen how dependent the peasant of

the valley was upon the lord of the castle. This lord took not only what the peasants could produce, but he would also prey upon the merchants who traveled through his territory. On the river Rhine, for instance, the lords of the castles would often stretch chains across the river and detain merchant vessels until they had paid an exaction or tax to the lord, who had really done nothing whatever for them. It is different in a modern civilized community. There the tax is a payment for service rendered by the government in protection, education, the development of resources, and the administration of law.

Fees. — We must distinguish between a *fee* and a *tax*. When a specific payment is made for a service by the government, it is called a fee. For a passport one pays a fee of \$1. For having a letter registered, the writer pays a fee of ten cents. For having a warrant of arrest issued or a summons in a civil action, one also pays a definite fee, fixed by the laws of the state. But most of the services performed by the state are not paid for directly in this manner but by general taxation.

Indirect Taxation. — The federal government gets its revenue from *indirect* taxation. Such

taxes are not originally paid by the person upon whom they finally fall. The greatest source of revenue is in the import duties levied upon goods brought into our country from abroad. Suppose a merchant imports from Bohemia certain manufactures of glass. When these goods are brought into an American port, the government collects a certain duty upon them. This payment may be added to the selling price, and will thus ultimately be paid by the person who purchases the goods.

Another source of federal revenue is found in the *excise duties* on luxuries like tobacco, liquor, and beer. This tax is originally paid by the manufacturer of the article, but he adds it to the price, so that ultimately the consumer has to pay it.

Smuggling. — The government not only has to provide for the collection of these taxes, but it must protect itself against fraud. Some persons would like to import merchandise without paying the lawful import tax. The government must therefore patrol the coasts of our country with revenue cutters to prevent smuggling. When people coming from abroad enter a port like New York, their baggage will be examined by custom officers to ascertain whether it contains any goods upon which a tax should be paid. It is not

pleasant to have one's baggage turned upside down and inside out by a stranger. Yet in some way the government must collect its duties and protect itself against imposition.



UNITED STATES CUSTOM HOUSE, SEATTLE

Forms of Taxation. — The money needed by state and local governments for rendering service to the public is collected through various forms of taxation. There is a tax on land and buildings from which the largest amount of revenue is obtained. There is a *general property tax* paid upon all property not of the nature of real estate. This tax does not bring in a large amount, because people usually do not pay upon all the property

they really possess. Some even go so far as deliberately to conceal from the state what property they have. This is dishonest, and in no way better than cheating a private person.

In some states there are taxes on property which one gives away by will. When a person dies, leaving property, the state collects a certain percentage of it for its own use. If the property goes to the widow or the children of the deceased person, the percentage collected is usually smaller than when it goes to distant relatives. Of course, when there are no relatives at all to take the property, it will fall to the state.

States and cities also derive revenue from license fees collected from saloon keepers, peddlers, and others. In some districts a poll tax or head tax is levied. This is quite usual in country districts, where such a tax may be worked off in road building or other public work.

Direct Taxes. — You will see that most of the taxes collected by the states and local units are direct, that is, they are paid directly by the person taxed. In *direct taxes* one is always sure of the amount he is paying, while he can never have this certainty in the matter of indirect taxes. Whenever one buys cloth, or chinaware, or jewelry,

the price may include a larger or smaller import duty paid to the federal government. It would be difficult or impossible to determine the amount. But there can be no doubt about the amount of money paid in taxes for a house and lot which one owns. That amount is definite. For this reason it has often been said that it is better for a free nation to have as much as possible of its taxation direct. In that case the citizens know exactly what the government costs them, and they will attend more carefully to the expenditures. They will see to it that useless outlays are avoided. We see this result to-day in our own country. Everybody is willing to have the federal government spend money in large amounts, because no one knows how much he contributes toward this expense. We are far more saving in our city and state governments, because in these cases the amount of our tax is definitely known, and each citizen is aware of what the government costs him.

Cost of Government. — The expenses of the government have increased very much in recent years. Many of the activities of government which we have described are new. The development of forests, of agriculture, and of other improvements incident to our growth all cost a great

deal of money. These expenditures, of course, will bring to the nation an abundant return, but this return will not go to the government itself. It



UNITED STATES TREASURY

will go to individual citizens. The expenses of the national government have reached the enormous figure of \$1,000,000,000 per year. It is almost impossible to imagine such a sum of money. The amount which the federal government spends every day, in silver dollars, would fill eight freight cars, while the annual expenditure would be carried in one hundred and eighty trains of sixteen cars each.

The expenses of the state governments are, of course, much smaller. At the present time they amount to about \$400,000,000 per year, while

our larger cities altogether spend around \$1,000,000,000. The military expenses of our nation are very great. We spent in 1914 as much as \$173,000,000 for the army, \$139,000,000 for the navy, and a sum of \$173,000,000 for pensions. For all this expenditure the nation receives no return in money. It, however, obtains in this manner protection and defense from possible attack and from internal disorder. The people of the nation should know what the government is expending. They have to pay the bill in the end, and they should control the expenditure through their representatives.

City Taxes. — Naturally the taxes in a city will be much higher than those in the country. People living in cities must pay for the paving of streets in order that they may ride or drive in comfort. They pay for the service of policemen to watch over their safety day and night. They pay for the care of the parks where the children may play in summer and skate in winter. They pay for the district and high schools where the children get their education. They pay for the service of firemen to protect property. All these services add to the expenses of city government. If we live in the country, our taxes will be much

less, because people in the country incur no expenses for police service, fire departments, or paved streets. Their roads they usually build and repair themselves. They are not afraid of criminals, who chiefly gather in the cities, where there are more people to plunder.

Assessment of Taxes. — The expenditure of public money is regulated by the town meeting in states where the people can get together for their own government. In other states, the revenue is expended by town officers, in villages by the village board, in cities by the city council. Every year certain sums of money are voted or appropriated by these various bodies, which must be paid by us in the form of taxes. In the spring of every year an officer known as the assessor looks over all the property in the town or city. He determines the value of all real estate. He also puts a valuation on other property that we may have, called personal property. When he has made up his assessment roll, the taxes which the locality has to pay are apportioned among the citizens according to their property. The tax may amount to one per cent. In that case a house and lot assessed at \$3000 will pay a tax of \$30. If we are not satisfied, and think the assessor has put too

high a valuation on our property, we can go before certain public officials and make complaint. If the assessment proves to be too large, the board will reduce it. When the day of payment comes, the assessed tax must be paid. The state is not a creditor that can be put off. If one should fail to pay the tax assessed upon his property, it would be sold at public auction by the sheriff, in order that the state might receive its tax. For this reason, people are more anxious to pay their taxes promptly than to meet any other obligation.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the rate of taxation in your town?
2. What are the largest items of expenditure?
3. Is there an inheritance tax in your state?
- ✓ 4. How is the tax on tobacco and cigars paid?
5. What is smuggling? What is its penalty?
6. What articles should pay a heavy import duty?
- └ 7. What is a protective tariff? Free trade?
8. What does your schooling cost the city or town each year?
9. Is church and college property taxed in your state? Is this just?
10. Should liquor selling be prohibited or licensed? Why?
- ✓ 11. Should a wealthy man who has no children be obliged to pay towards the support of schools? Why?

CHAPTER XX

LEGISLATION

The Making of Laws. — We have considered the many activities of the state, the manner in which it acts in behalf of the people, and in which it provides itself with funds for its expenses. We have seen hundreds of thousands of officials at work in their various departments looking after the interests of the people and advancing the welfare of the country. There must be somewhere a body of men who will make rules according to which all these officials act and according to which the citizens are protected and have their interests guarded by the government. In the state the body which makes these rules is the legislature, and in the nation it is Congress. In smaller divisions rules are made by the county boards, city councils, village boards, and town meetings. But in the state all such councils and boards are subordinate to the state legislature, which can prescribe rules of action even to these bodies.

Civil and Criminal Laws. — The legislature of the state frames the general rules by which the citizens must regulate their conduct. This is called the *civil and criminal law* of the state. Our moral sense tells us that we must not do bodily injury to another person nor take from him what rightfully is his own. Upon this moral sense the legislature bases the law which protects life and property and punishes crimes committed against citizens. These laws also lay down general rules for business transactions and the holding and transfer of property. Thus, it is law that if one write his name on the back of a note or check issued by another person, he may have to pay that note or check if the original maker proves unable to meet it. It is a law that when I agree in writing to purchase \$10,000 worth of lumber, I must carry out my promise. All these and many similar rules deal with the conduct of private citizens in respect to their general affairs.

Rules for Officials. — The second kind of rules made by the legislature deals with the action of government officials, prescribing regulations according to which they must do their work. Thus, the laws will instruct the Secretary of State how he is to issue certificates of incorporation. They

will provide on what conditions insurance companies will be permitted to do business in a state. They will instruct the game wardens and the foresters as to their duties. The legislature also has control over all the expenditures of the state. No official is permitted to pay out any state money if the legislature has not previously given its consent to such expenditure. As the legislature is elected directly by the people, we see how all officials are under the control of the electors. If the citizens will only interest themselves in political matters and have a definite purpose, they will be able to impress their desires upon the government of the country.

Power of Congress. — The Congress of the United States has no control over the ordinary rules determining the conduct of citizens. The laws of contract, of property, of crime, are made by the state legislatures and not by Congress. The national body deals with the work of federal government and with such matters as are provided for in the Constitution of the United States. As the constitution has given Congress the right to control commerce between the states, the commercial operations of the country have, as a matter of fact, to a large extent come under the super-

vision of Congress. Recently Congress has passed the railway rate act. Under this law the Interstate Commerce Commission is empowered to determine whether any given rate charged by a railway company is excessive or not. The commission is also given other powers designed to protect the public against injurious action by railway companies.

Pure Food Laws. — Another law of great importance secures the purity of foods. The health of the people is of great importance to the welfare of the nation. If what is sold for food or drink is of an injurious character, and not what it is claimed to be, the health of the people is endangered. Every one who sells food ought to be responsible for its purity. Under the law mentioned above, manufacturers who use harmful substances in foods which they produce will be punished.

The foregoing are a few examples of laws made by Congress. Most of the acts of Congress deal with the established services of the departments of the government, with the land system of the United States, forests, irrigation, and public buildings. Congress appropriates all the money expended by the federal government.

How a Law is Made. — It is very interesting to observe the work of a legislative body. The legislature represents the different parties existing among the people of the state or nation. These parties discuss questions of public interest, and their members struggle to secure influence and power. When a member of the legislature desires to have a new law passed, he frames a bill; that is, he writes out what he proposes in the form of a law. This bill he introduces on the floor of the House. The speaker of the House will then send it to a committee. It is impossible for the House itself to go over all the bills which are proposed by members. They must first be examined and sifted by one of the many committees into which the House is divided. Thus, if the bill calls for an appropriation of money, it will be referred to the committee on finance. If it provides for the establishment of a normal school, it will go to the committee on education. If it calls for a new form of ballot, it will be sent to the committee on elections. These are a few examples. There are from twenty-five to fifty committees in the houses of the legislatures of the various states.

Any citizen who has an interest in any matter

of legislation may appear before the proper committee to urge his opinions. The proposed bill may affect his business, or it may provide for some improvement he desires, or it may be a reform in political methods in which he believes. Whether he favors or opposes the measure, he has a right to express his opinions before the committee. The hearings of the committee are public, and they are definitely announced beforehand, so that citizens who are interested can be present. Persons who make it a business to secure legislation for others, who pay them for their efforts, are called lobbyists. If they simply argue openly before committees, there is nothing wrong about their work, but if they try secretly to influence legislators, their action is illegal. In most states lobbyists are obliged by law to register their name and that of their employer.

If the committee finds that it would be desirable to pass a certain bill, it will report this bill to the House with its recommendation. The bill is then put to a vote; those favoring it will say "Aye," those against it, "No." If a majority of the members present vote for the bill, it is passed. In some states a majority of all the members belonging to the House must vote favorably in

order to pass a measure. When the bill is thus passed in one branch, it will be sent to the other — each legislature having two branches. There it goes through the same process. If it is passed by the second branch, it will be sent to the governor for his approval, and thus becomes a law.

Veto Power. — The governor has the right to veto a bill if he considers it undesirable. *Veto* is a Latin word meaning “I forbid.” Sometimes the legislature may have overlooked some defect in the law, or the members may have become excited and passed a measure that in the light of reason seems dangerous to the state, or the legislature may have gone beyond the powers given to it by the constitution. In these cases the governor will usually exercise his power of veto. This veto does not necessarily defeat the bill. It goes back to the legislature. If this body passes it again, with an enlarged majority, — two thirds in most states, — the bill becomes a law notwithstanding the governor’s veto. The legislature need not accept the opinion of the governor on the character of the law. In such a case the people will judge between the legislature and the governor, and uphold whichever in their opinion takes the right view of the case.

The Initiative and Referendum.—The constitutions of many states at the present time provide that, when a large number of voters desire to have a certain law enacted, they may bring it before the people of the state by an initiative petition. When this has been done, a vote will be had on the proposed law at the next regular election. Should a law passed by the legislature appear to a large number of voters unwise and undesirable, they may petition for its reference to the electorate (referendum). When such a petition has been signed by the required number of voters, the law to which it refers will not go into operation before it has been voted on by the general electorate. This method makes it possible for the people of a state to keep a very direct control over legislation, and themselves to make the laws which they desire to have enacted, when the legislature does not readily respond to the determined will of the people.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe a legislative body in session.
2. What is a game warden? A veto? A civil law? Interstate commerce? A lobby? A lobbyist?
3. Show the value of the pure food law; of a law to enforce contracts; of the veto power.

GREAT SEALS OF THE UNITED STATES AND TERRITORIES



ALABAMA



ALASKA



ARIZONA



ARKANSAS



CALIFORNIA



COLORADO



CONNECTICUT



DELAWARE



DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA



FLORIDA



GEORGIA



IDaho



ILLINOIS



INDIANA



IOWA



KANSAS



KENTUCKY



LOUISIANA



MAINE



MARYLAND



MASSACHUSETTS



MICHIGAN



MINNESOTA



MISSISSIPPI



MISSOURI



MONTANA



NEBRASKA



NEVADA



NEW HAMPSHIRE



NEW JERSEY

*The Great Seals of Georgia, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia have a reverse, as well as the obverse shown in these plates.

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PART III

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERN- MENT

GREAT SEALS OF THE UNITED STATES AND TERRITORIES



NEW MEXICO



NEW YORK



NORTH CAROLINA



NORTH DAKOTA



OHIO



OKLAHOMA



OREGON



PENNSYLVANIA



RHODE ISLAND



SOUTH CAROLINA



GREAT SEAL
OF THE
UNITED STATES



REVERSE



PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

The design for the Great Seal of the United States was adopted June 20th, 1782.



HAWAII

The original design included both obverse and reverse. The reverse has never been cut.



PORTO RICO



SOUTH DAKOTA



TENNESSEE



TEXAS



UTAH



VERMONT



VIRGINIA



WASHINGTON



WEST VIRGINIA



WISCONSIN



WYOMING

*The Great Seal of Georgia, Pennsylvania, Virginia and West Virginia, have a reverse, as well as the obverse shown in these plates.

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CHAPTER XXI

THE TOWN AND VILLAGE

Local Government. — As we know most about the needs of our own neighborhood, it is natural that we should pay most attention to these and manage them ourselves as much as possible. We should know about the affairs of the state and nation, but management of them we must intrust to representatives and officials. The affairs of our town, village, or city, however, are so close to us, and we are so directly responsible for them, that it is our special duty and privilege to see that they are well administered.

The Town-meeting. — In some of our states, — New England, New York, Michigan, and Wisconsin, — the people living in country districts are governed by the town-meeting. In New England the town is a small settlement, often dating back to the very beginning of our history. To the town belong the adjoining lands, and its boundaries are the irregular lines inclosing them, the whole

territory forming a township. In other states the townships are more artificial. They are often



INDEPENDENCE HALL

The Declaration of Independence was signed here.

square areas determined by the calculations of surveyors, who went through our newer states and laid them out into counties and towns. In some of these newer states also the towns have their town-meetings. At least one town-meeting is held each year, in addition to which extra meetings may be held. At these meetings each citizen of the town has a right to be present,

speak, and vote. If he has a proper sense of his own interests and duties, he will not fail to be present on these occasions. The town-meeting elects the town officers, and passes regulations called by-laws.¹

Township Government. — In the townships of the states in which no town-meetings are held, the work of the town is done entirely by elected officers. The general business of the town is managed by the selectmen, trustees, or supervisors. Of the latter there is usually only one to each town, but in New England towns there are from three to nine selectmen. These officers control and carry out the general administration of public affairs in the town, though where a town-meeting exists, they are subject to its orders. They fix the rate of taxation, vote money for expenses, and control the other officials, such as the clerk, the treasurer, the assessor, the collector of taxes, the constable, the justice of the peace, the overseers of the poor, and the sur-

¹ "Town" comes from the Anglo-Saxon "*tun*," referring to the fence or palisade built about towns in ancient times for protection. *By* is the Norse word for town. A by-law, therefore, means a town law. England, as you remember, was settled both by Anglo-Saxons and by Norsemen.

veyors of highways. The duties of these various officials are indicated by their title. The clerk keeps the books of the town, the records of town-meeting; he issues notices and frames the various written instruments necessary in town government. The treasurer has charge of the town funds. The assessor determines the value of property in the town for the purposes of taxation. The constable is the peace officer who has the power of making arrests and serving warrants. By holding offices of this kind, the citizens learn the public business of the town, so that it is an advantage both to themselves and to the state that they should render this service. In doing so they are fulfilling a public duty.

Village Government. — As the town settlement increases in population, the *village* comes into being. Farmers of the neighborhood who have been successful retire and build themselves houses in the village. New stores are opened, warehouses and lumber yards and even factories may be added, so that the village presents an aspect of far greater business activity than does a country settlement. The people living in a village, therefore, find it necessary to exercise powers which are not required in the case of a

town. They need special regulations concerning streets, sidewalks, fire, water supply, sewerage, and other matters. The state will, therefore, grant to villages a *charter* under which these extended powers may be exercised by the citizens of the village. In general, the government is similar to that of a town, but the powers are greater, and the designation of the officials is different. At the head of the village is the president. The by-laws of the village are made by the board of trustees, which also supervises the public business, levies taxes, and appropriates money for public expenses. Generally a village is a part of a town, so that the citizens of the village also have the right to vote for town officers.

QUESTIONS

1. Do you live in a town where there are town meetings? What are the powers of the town meeting?
2. What are the officials of your town or village?
3. What are the duties of a supervisor or trustee?
4. What is the duty of the town clerk? Who has charge of the highways?
5. What advantages has a town over a city?
6. Define town; village; charter; assessor; justice of the peace.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CITY

What is a City? — As more and more people settle in the village, it gradually grows into a city. It is important that we should understand all that is meant by the word "city." It is not merely a large number of houses located near each other, an area covered with streets and buildings, or a mass of people. It means more than all this. A city has a life of its own, a character which is developed by the experience of time like the character of an individual person.

In the ancient world, when Greece and Rome were powerful, the city was even more important than it is to-day. At that time there was nothing above the city. It was the highest political unit. Consider for a moment the appearance of an ancient city. On a high hill were seen the shining walls and the gleaming roofs of temples and public halls. Standing among them were giant statues of marble, ivory, or gold represent-

ing the gods to whom the city was faithful. Upon the top of the cliffs that formed the sides of the citadel ran massive walls of masonry protecting



MODERN ATHENS

the temples. On the lower slopes of the hill there were amphitheaters, more temples, public markets, and the dwellings of the citizens. All about the city was constructed another strong wall for the purpose of defense. Beyond this there lay the fields tilled by the citizens and their dependents. This city was to the people of the

age their home, church, country, their everything. If they had to leave it they were strangers, without peace or rest. Only in their own city were they free men. They loved their city with a personal love. The picture of its walls and temples impressed itself so clearly upon the mind that all its outlines could be recalled at any time. As you know the appearance of your home, so the ancient citizen carried with him the picture of his city wherever he went. These cities were governed by the citizens in public meetings. They would not acknowledge any political superior.

Italian Cities. — Should we travel in Italy to-day, we should see many cities which remind us of these ancient cities, and which, in fact, are in many respects like them. Each Italian city — Florence, Venice, Milan, Rome, Naples — has its own character, different from that of any other. The style of its buildings, the appearance of its inhabitants, show these differences. These cities are proud of the fine and dignified appearance of their public buildings, their squares and streets. We shall see, by thinking of these matters, that the cities have been the places where in the past our civilization has developed and has had its

centers. It is there that freedom was born because, under the protection of the city walls, the citizens felt a sense of freedom and equality



VENICE

which the unprotected man in the country could not feel.

American Cities. — Our American cities are not so picturesque nor do they have as much individual character as have these older cities of which we have spoken, but they, too, are more than mere crowds of people. It is remarkable how fast our cities have grown. In the year 1800

there was not one city in America which had one hundred thousand inhabitants. At that time our population lived in country districts, and was occupied largely in farming, but during the last century great manufactures were built up and the business of the country was centered in a number of large cities. Factory operatives, laborers, domestic servants, merchants, teachers, men of capital, came to live in larger and larger numbers in the cities, so that to-day one third of our population is found in cities of over ten thousand inhabitants.

Cosmopolitan Cities. — Our American cities are also notable because of the many people of foreign birth who live in them and make their population greatly diverse. A country district is usually settled by Americans or by people of some one nationality, -- English, German, Scandinavian, Polish, or some other European nation. In the cities all these elements are placed side by side. It is said that New York contains more Germans than any other city except Berlin, more Jews than any other city in the world, and more Irish than Dublin. In one school in New York twenty-seven languages are spoken. Our country has been hospitable in inviting all

European peoples to our shores. For this reason our population has grown very fast. It is not surprising that many of these immigrants stay in the large cities, where work may easily be secured and land is hard to obtain. This fact makes the government of our large cities very difficult. A city should be like a large family of people thinking and feeling alike, knowing and trusting one another. The various races in our cities have not lived together long enough to become thoroughly acquainted. It takes some time to learn the nature of free institutions and to be able to take an intelligent part in their working. So we may say that the cities are the great laboratories where all the elements which come to us from foreign countries are melted and made over into our American nationality. It will be seen from this that the government of an American city is more difficult than that of a European city where the people all speak the same language.

Cities Beautified. — The city ought to be made a dignified and beautiful home for its inhabitants. By the cities our civilization will be judged. If they are corrupt, if their streets and buildings are unattractive, we have much still to do. But

they need not be other than beautiful and well governed if the people will only discharge their duties as citizens. Many of our American cities,



WASHINGTON MONUMENT, RICHMOND, VA.

indeed, may be looked upon already as models of what a city should be. They have clean, well-paved streets lined with grateful shade trees; public squares, flanked with impressive buildings; libraries, museums, city halls, and schools of ample size and artistic design. They honor their dis-

tinguished citizens by monuments erected to them in appropriate places. While all such improvements as these are expensive, they are an excellent investment, because they make every citizen happier and his property more valuable.

A city should have a grateful memory for the achievements of the past. From time to time there should be festivals and pageants in which the history of the city is celebrated. Think of the story which is made by the history of a city like Boston, from the Puritan days, through the period of the great orators and reformers like Adams and Webster down to the present, with all its great business activity. If all these different experiences were expressed in a historical procession, or in a great historical play, what a glorious celebration it would be, and how it would increase the respect of citizens for the dignity of city life.

City Charter. — The government of the city is carried on under a charter, a grant of powers made by the legislature. The city is a larger town or village, with a greater population and a greater variety of activities. It needs greater powers of government and a more complicated organization than a village.

The Mayor of the City. — At the head of the city government stands the mayor. He has the power of appointing certain officials, of watching over the execution of laws, of suggesting new ordinances to the city council. He generally has the right to veto ordinances passed by that body. The executive work of the city is carried out by numerous officials and boards which are grouped in various city departments. The arrangement and designation of these vary in different parts of the country. There will be city treasurers, auditors, boards for the management of streets, parks, the police, the water supply, and the school system. If we live in a city, we ought to know the various departments of the city government and their business. We could then see how successfully each one is carrying on its work.

The City Council. — The ordinances or laws of the city are made by the council. This city legislature may be composed of one or two bodies. Most commonly it has only one body. The city fathers or legislators are usually called aldermen. Their powers of legislation are granted in the charter. The council may make certain rules with respect to the use of the streets and of the

parks, as well as regulations controlling the work of the city officials. It also deals with the income and expenses of the city. The income is derived from taxes on property, from rentals and fees for public services such as the water supply, and from the return from franchises granted to public service corporations. The city may borrow money for the purpose of constructing public buildings and works of various kinds, but the amount of indebtedness which a city can incur is limited by law. This precaution is taken in order that the council may not run into debt recklessly. Generally the debt of a city is not allowed to exceed five per cent, or at most ten per cent, of the entire assessed valuation of the property in the city.

The Commission Plan.—In recent years, a large number of cities have adopted a new plan of government called the commission system. In many cases the city councils have not governed well, as they were often ignorant and allowed themselves to be guided by corrupt influences. Under the new plan the powers of city government are exercised by a small commission chosen by the voters of the entire city. Each member of the commission is in charge of one of the departments,

such as police, public works, and so on. Together, they form a board which makes ordinances and transacts the general business of the city. This plan was first tried at Galveston, in Texas, after that town had been devastated by a flood.

QUESTIONS

1. Give the names of the departments of your city government, and describe their work.

2. What important officials are appointed by the mayor of your city?

3. How is the work of street cleaning organized?

4. How large a debt does your city have?

5. What has been done towards beautifying your city or town?

6. Attend a meeting of the aldermen or council and report its proceedings to your classmates.

7. Give some suggestions for improving the appearance of your city or town.

8. How would you spend \$500 about or within your schoolhouse to make it more attractive?

9. Why do so many foreign immigrants settle in our cities?

10. How does an immigrant become a voter?

11. Define city.

12. Name five of the largest cities in your state.

13. Who is the mayor of your city?

14. What powers has the mayor?

15. What powers and duties has the city council?

CHAPTER XXIII

THE COUNTY

What is a County ? — The county is a district or division of government which exists in all states of the Union, with the exception of Louisiana, where the district or local government is called a parish. Where the town is very active, as in New England, the county is far less important. In the Southern states and in the Far West, however, where town government does not exist, the county performs all the work of local administration. The county is a division of the state created for the purpose of carrying on certain public business.

County Government. — The county is governed by a board of county commissioners or supervisors. The county commissioners are usually chosen for the entire county, while the board of supervisors is made up of representatives from each town and each ward in a city or village. Consequently, a board of supervisors is much

larger than a board of county commissioners. Whatever the system may be in a given county, the powers of the board are similar. It apportions the state tax among the various towns, villages, and cities in the county, equalizing the tax assessments when any inequalities exist. It usually provides for the care of the poor, and has charge of the poorhouses and county farms. The construction and care of courthouses, prisons, and other public buildings also devolve upon this body. It may also exercise supervision over the system of roads and over public education in the county.

County Officers. — The usual county officers are the clerk, the treasurer, the register of deeds, the county school superintendent, the sheriff, and the district attorney or state's attorney. All these officials are elected by the voters of the county. The register of deeds keeps a record of all landed property in the county. Whenever a piece of land is sold or mortgaged, the deed or mortgage is recorded by the register. In this way the transfer of the property is made public, and the purchaser is assured of getting a good title to the land bought by him. Should there be any mortgage on the land, or should any sale

have been previously made, the record at the courthouse plainly shows the fact. The sheriff is an important official whose duty it is to secure the enforcement of law and the maintenance of order throughout the county. He has the power of making arrests, and he is also the custodian of the persons who are confined in the county jail.

QUESTIONS

1. How large is the county board in your county ?
2. Does your county have a county farm, and how is it managed ?
3. How large is the governing body of your county, and how is it designated ?
4. Name the officers of your county.
5. What buildings belong to it, and where are they located ?
6. Is every state divided into counties ? What is a parish ?
7. What are the duties of the county commissioners or supervisors ?
8. Name the county seat of your county. Why chosen and when ?
9. Name the largest county in your state ; the smallest ; the richest ; the poorest.
10. If you bought a farm in your county, where and to what county officer would you go to have your title recorded ?

CHAPTER XXIV

THE STATE GOVERNMENT

Importance of State Government. — When the United States government was founded, there existed only thirteen states, but these states had in their possession a large tract of territory extending to the Mississippi River which had not yet been settled. As the settlement extended into these new lands and as the population there grew, new states were formed and admitted into the Union. It was not long before this original territory had thus been settled and formed into states. This same line of action continued when we had acquired our Far Western territory.

The government of the state is very important to our general welfare. President Garfield once described it in the following language: —

“The state government touches the citizen and his interests twenty times where the national government touches him once. For the peace of our streets and the health of our cities; for the administration of justice in

nearly all that relates to the security of person and property, and the punishment of crime; for the education of our children, and the care of unfortunate and dependent citizens; for the collection and assessment of much the larger portion of our direct taxes, and for the proper expenditure of the same, — for all this, and much more, we depend upon the honesty and wisdom of our General Assembly and not upon the Congress at Washington.”

State Insignia. — Each state has an individuality of its own. It not only has its name, but also its seal and its coat of arms. A coat of arms originally was the covering which a knight wore over his armor and upon which was embroidered a shield. Upon this there were represented various objects supposed to be connected with the character and history of the family of the knight. This coat of arms was inherited by son from father. Though armed and plumed knights have long passed away, coats of arms are still used to indicate somewhat the character of a family or a state. In selecting the coats of arms of our states, our forefathers tried to express their hopes and aspirations. They placed upon them not the fierce lions and tigers which abounded on the coats of arms of the ancient warriors. Our designs are usually in every way peaceful.

The plough, the anvil, the locomotive, the steamship, and other means of promoting the well-being of mankind have taken the place of swords and beasts of prey. These coats of arms are found in the center of the great seal of the state. Some of the states have a separate state flag or banner, or they may have selected certain flowers to represent them. Nearly all the states have a motto. Among the people, humorous designations are often given to states and their inhabitants, such as buckeye, badger, gopher, hoosier, etc. (See pp. 144, 146.)

Equality of States. — In law all the states of the Union, large and small, are equal, and cannot be interfered with by another state or by the federal government, but in actual size they vary greatly. Texas is almost five times as large as Illinois, and Illinois again is forty times as large as Rhode Island.

The Constitution of the State. — The government of the state is carried on under the state constitution. Usually the constitution is drawn up by a convention, and is then submitted to the voters of the state. In earlier years the conventions also adopted the constitution, but at present the people are always given an oppor-

tunity to express their will upon the adoption of so important an instrument. The constitution may be changed in parts and in detail by amendments. These amendments are proposed by the state legislature, and are then submitted to the people to be voted upon at a regular election. The constitution contains the general framework of government. It enumerates the departments of government and distributes the powers among them. It also forbids the exercise of certain powers. It regulates the right of voting, and determines what shall be necessary in order that men may hold office. The constitution also protects the individual citizens by prohibiting unlawful arrests, searches, and imprisonments; prescribing trial by jury; establishing freedom of religion; and, in general, building a strong wall around the rights of the individual. This part of the constitution is called the Bill or Declaration of Rights.

The Governor. — The work of the state is carried on in the counties by the officials and boards which we have already considered. The central government of the state is composed of the governor, the executive officers, the legislature, and the state courts. The governor repre-

sents the unity of state government. He may appoint certain officials, usually with the consent of the Senate, in the case of important appointments. At present, in some states, appointments are made not as a matter of political favor, but on the basis of civil service examinations. All candidates for a certain office have the right to be examined, and appointment must be made from those who stand highest on the list and have passed the test with the greatest credit to themselves.

The governor is also the commander of the state militia. He controls its movements. Should great disorders or rioting arise in any part of the state, he may call out the militia to restore order. The governor usually has the power to pardon persons who have been sentenced to prison or to other forms of punishment. When a sentence has once been passed by a court, it has no power to discharge the accused. It is sometimes discovered, however, after the trial, that a prisoner is really innocent of the crime of which he was convicted. If his innocence is clearly established, or if he has reformed, the governor may pardon him. This great power should, however, not be used to allow prisoners to escape just punishment.

Perhaps the most important function of the governor is the preparation of a message which he sends to the legislature or reads before it in person. In this message he recommends such changes in the law as may seem necessary to him. If he is a man of power and wisdom, he will be able greatly to influence the action of the legislature. When an act has been passed by the legislature, it must be submitted to the governor, who has the right either to approve it or to veto it. In case it is vetoed, it may still become a law if the legislature passes it again. In most states, however, the act must be re-passed in such a case by a vote larger than a simple majority.

Executive Officers. — The executive work of the state is carried on by various officials. The most important of these are the secretary of state, the treasurer, the attorney-general, the superintendent of education, and the auditor. The secretary of state keeps the record of all the laws and important public acts of state government. He has in his custody the great seal of the state, which must be affixed to the original copy of every law.

Commissions. — A great part of the business of the state is carried on through boards or *com-*

missions. These boards are usually composed of several men who are appointed on account of their special knowledge of the subject where-with they deal. Thus, we have commissions of health, of charities and correction, of corporations, of taxation, of railways, of public utilities, and of labor. Some of these commissions simply make inquiries and gather information. Thus, it is important that the officials and citizens of the state should know about the methods of assessment in all parts of the commonwealth. The tax commission may devote its energies for a time entirely to studying this question. It may then make certain recommendations that the laws and the methods of doing public business be changed. Often these boards or commissions have the right to make rules and regulations which officials and citizens must observe, or they may hear and decide cases arising among citizens. The public service or railway commissions sometimes have the power to prescribe just and reasonable rates and charges to be made by public corporations.

State Legislatures. — The legislature of the state consists of two houses: the smaller house is called the Senate, the larger, the House of

Representatives. In some states the latter is called the House of Delegates or the Assembly. The senators are elected from districts which are larger, and their term of office is usually longer than that of the representatives. The House of Representatives is sometimes three times as large as the Senate. While the senators are ordinarily elected for four years, the representatives are elected for two years only. Of course, every state has its own system in these matters, so that we are here simply stating the arrangements which have been made in most of the states.

The presiding officer in the House of Representatives is called the speaker. The Senate is presided over either by the lieutenant governor or one of the senators who acts as president. In both houses the detailed work is carried on in committees. These are called *standing committees* when they are regularly appointed at each session, and *select* or special committees when they are appointed for a short time and for a special purpose. The most important standing committees are those dealing with revenue and expenditure, with education, with banking, with railroads, with elections, with manufactures, and with agriculture. Every bill which is introduced must be referred

to a committee; and unless the committee makes a favorable report on it, it is not likely that the bill will become a law. The speaker has the power of appointing committees and of maintaining order in the House. Any member who desires to address the House must first catch the eye of the speaker and obtain recognition from him.

In most states the legislature meets every two years, but there are six commonwealths which have annual sessions, and in a few the legislature meets only every four years. The length of the session is limited by law in most states. It is believed to be wise for the legislature to work with a will and to finish up its business in as short a time as possible. Should any important matter come up after the legislature has adjourned, the governor may call an extra session.

State Courts: The work of the state courts deals with the ordinary personal and property rights of citizens as well as with criminal acts committed against the state itself. Whenever only the rights of a private individual are dealt with, we speak of a "civil" action; a "criminal" action takes place when an offense has been committed that is serious enough to affect public

peace and security in general. In such cases we say that the act has been committed against the peace of the state or commonwealth. The manner of dealing with these various kinds of cases has already been described above. State courts are divided into the following classes: Justice courts for the trial of cases of small importance; probate courts for the proving of wills, the administration of estates, and the guardianship of minor children; courts of general civil and criminal jurisdiction; and courts of appeal, or supreme courts, to which cases are brought when the decision of a lower court is objected to. The judges of state courts are usually elected by popular vote, or appointed by the Governor; it is important that good and experienced judges should be kept in service as long as possible.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the design of the great seal of your state?
2. Does your state have a flag, a motto, a state flower?
3. How is the Railway or Public Utilities Commission in your state composed, and what are its powers?
4. Read the Declaration of Rights in your state constitution, and see how it protects personal rights against interference.

CHAPTER XXV

THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

The National Capital. — Our national capital is one of the most beautiful cities in the world. The site upon which it stands was selected by Washington himself. He was fond of this region, because near by is situated his own estate of Mount Vernon. Before a single building was constructed, a skilled engineer drew up a complete plan for the city, showing all the streets, avenues, and parks which were to be created.

The Capitol. — The city really has two centers, if such a thing is possible. On an eminence in the eastern part of the city stands the Capitol, surmounted by its majestic dome. You have so often seen a picture of this noble building that you have perhaps ceased to care for it. But look at it again and see how beautiful it is. Its vast size does not surprise you, but all its parts are so constructed that they are in perfect harmony with each other. It is not the size of a

building which makes its beauty, but perfect proportions, — that is, the relation of its parts and its lines to one another, so that the effect will be entirely harmonious. But while its lines make the building beautiful, its size makes it impressive. Where the two go together, a very powerful impression is produced. So with the vast stairway sweeping up towards the building, with its marble wings extended on



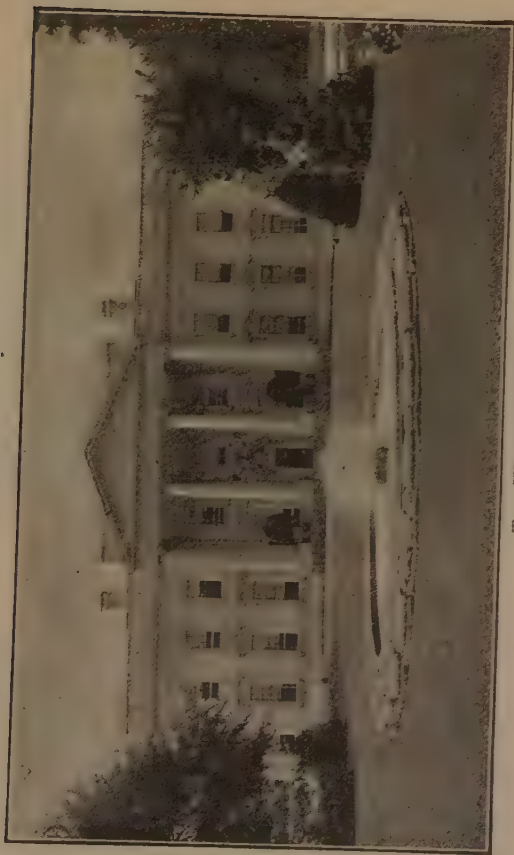
THE WASHINGTON MONUMENT,
WASHINGTON, D.C.

either side, and the perfectly fashioned dome crowning the entire structure, it may be said there is no building in the world more fit to represent national strength and permanence than the Capitol in Washington. It is surrounded by other magnificent structures, the Congressional Library, the Supreme Court building, and the

office buildings for Congress. In arranging such great structures it is always necessary to leave sufficient space around them in order that they may not be crowded and that they may not detract from one another.

The White House. — Pennsylvania Avenue leads westward from the Capitol. It is a broad street, the principal thoroughfare of Washington. It leads up to the White House, the official home of the President, a simple building surrounded by beautiful park-like gardens. The White House is flanked on either side by the large buildings occupied by the Treasury and the departments of state, the Navy, and War. In front of the White House is Lafayette Square, a place of great historical interest. In its center is a statue of Andrew Jackson, the soldier President. The square itself is surrounded by houses in which have lived such men as James Madison, Daniel Webster, Charles Sumner, John Hay, Admiral Decatur, and others famous in our history.

Arlington. — When we visit Washington, there are two places which we should not fail to see. One of these is Arlington, situated about six miles from the city, south of the Potomac River. It is the old home of General Lee, the principal



THE WHITE HOUSE
Home of the Presidents

military leader of the Confederates. The temple-like house stands on a high eminence, from which the city of Washington is seen with all its beau-



ARLINGTON MANSION

tiful buildings and monuments. But Arlington has a still greater interest. It is a soldiers' cemetery. Here are buried thousands upon thousands of the brave soldiers who fell during the Civil War. As we look to the right and to the left of the mansion, we see thousands of little white headstones, each inscribed with the name of one of these men. Among them are larger monuments erected to generals and other

high officers. We shall leave this place with a deep impression of the beauty of our national capital, and of the great sacrifices which have been made.



MOUNT VERNON

Mount Vernon. — The other place is Washington's home, Mount Vernon, which lies about ten miles below Arlington on the Potomac River. The place has changed very little since Washington lived there. We are transported over one hundred years back to the very beginning of our national life. The simplicity and dignity of the surroundings help us to understand the character of the first President. He himself is buried

near his home, adjoining the gardens, where flowers are still blossoming as on the day of his death. Mount Vernon is, indeed, a national sanctuary where from the memories of the past we may get inspiration for the future.

QUESTIONS

1. Where was the first capital of the United States located? When removed, and where is its present location?
2. Name six of the most noted government buildings in Washington.
3. Why are Arlington and Mount Vernon famous?
4. Find out all you can about the Washington Monument — when built, what it commemorates, etc.
5. What is the District of Columbia?

CHAPTER XXVI

THE PRESIDENT

Importance of the Office. — The President of the United States is an official whose power is greater than that of a king. He is intrusted with this power in behalf of the people, and as the American nation grows stronger its President becomes more powerful and important in the world. Yet he is not surrounded by any royal splendor or show of office. The earliest Presidents were simple in their manner of living, and the early traditions have been maintained. Though the Presidents no longer ride on horseback to their inauguration as Jefferson did, their mode of life is still very simple, and they avoid every unnecessary display of power and wealth.

The President's Daily Work. — The White House itself is a dignified but simple residence for the head of a nation. The business office of the President is a small one-story building adjoining the White House and connected with

it by a covered walk. The private office of the President and the cabinet room, the two rooms in which the most important interests of our nation are discussed and determined, are together no larger than an ordinary class room.

A visit to the President is most interesting. When he receives visitors, the anteroom to the office is crowded with persons passing in and out. There are senators and representatives desirous of presenting some friend or some office-seeker. There are diplomats bringing distinguished visitors from other countries. There are delegations of representative citizens from various parts of the country, who wish to urge upon the President some needed reform. In the short time at his disposal the President meets all these people, listens to their wishes, and has a few cordial words for each one of his visitors. Many people, of course, desire to see the President out of mere curiosity. Formerly the President held a general reception several times a week, to which any one might come just for the purpose of shaking hands with him. The time of the great magistrate is so valuable that no one should call upon him, unless for some definite and necessary purpose.

The person of the President is protected at all

times by special policemen and secret service agents. Men whose character is not known will not be admitted to his presence at all, because there is reason to fear that some lunatic or criminal might desire to make a murderous attack upon the President, of the kind to which Garfield and McKinley fell victims.

The work of the President requires ability of the highest order. He has to carry the most important matters in his mind and make decisions every day upon which the welfare of numberless people depend. He must be a man of strong character, who will not be swayed by influence, but who will set before him the one purpose of serving the nation and the people. He must be able to say "No." It is desirable that he should be a man of experience in public affairs, one whose character can be judged by what he has done in other positions. President Garfield had been a congressman and senator for many years. Presidents Cleveland, McKinley, and Roosevelt had been governors of great states. President Harrison had been a senator. All these men were conspicuous and well known by the American people, before they became Presidents.

The work of the President is arduous. From

early morning until late at night, the business of his responsible office weighs on his mind. Thousands of letters come to the White House urging upon the President action of one kind or another. All the departments of government have to be watched by him, and he is in a measure responsible for the legislation which passes through Congress, and which ultimately is submitted to him for his approval. So the President finds little leisure and rest. The responsibilities of his great office will be a strain on the strongest man. Few Presidents have lived long after their term of office has expired.

The Election of President. — The election of the President is carried on in a roundabout manner. The Constitution provides that at the time of the Presidential election each state shall choose a number of electors equal to its joint representation in the Senate and the House of Representatives. Some time after the election, the electors that have been chosen meet in the capital of the state and cast their votes for some man for the office of President of the United States. They also elect a Vice-President in a similar manner. These votes are then sent to Washington and counted in the presence of the

Senate and House of Representatives. All these forms are observed at the present time, but as a matter of fact we know who has been chosen as soon as the November election day is over. The men who are nominated as Presidential electors on our party tickets have been pledged beforehand to vote for a certain candidate. They will not, therefore, vote for any one else. We know that they will vote for Mr. Taft or Mr. Bryan, Mr. Roosevelt or Mr. Parker. It has, therefore, been suggested that it would be better to abolish the electoral college altogether and have the people vote directly for the President and Vice-President. To do this it would be necessary to amend the Constitution.

Inauguration of President. — The President is introduced into the office, or inaugurated, on the 4th of March following upon his election. This is a very imposing ceremony. First comes the inauguration of the Vice-President, which takes place in the Senate chamber. There are gathered the outgoing and the incoming President and Vice-President, the justices of the Supreme Court, the senators and representatives, the foreign diplomats, and many distinguished visitors. The Vice-President makes a brief address, and then is

sworn into office. Thereupon, the entire company will pass outside of the Capitol to a huge platform or grand stand which has been erected in front of the Capitol. There a vast multitude of people is already awaiting the President-elect. After he has arrived and all is quiet, the Chief Justice of the United States administers to him the oath of office, and he gives his inaugural address. After this has been finished, the President, together with his predecessor, drives up Pennsylvania Avenue to the White House, where they review a grand military procession arranged in honor of the occasion. Regular troops and militia from all parts of the Union, governors with their staffs, and marines from the navy take part in this display, which usually lasts for several hours.

The President's Power. — The President has the general power of overseeing the work of the various executive departments of the government. It is his duty to see that the laws are faithfully executed. To this end he must not only instruct the officials and issue regulations to them; but, should the laws be opposed in any locality, it is his right and duty to enforce them, if necessary, through the military power of the nation.

Appointing Officers. — The President has the right to appoint many important officers of the federal government. The less important officials are appointed by the heads of the departments. The President appoints cabinet ministers, heads of departments, post-masters in cities, and diplomatic officials. Such appointments must be submitted to the Senate, and that body must confirm them before they become valid. It is, therefore, a common practice for the President to consult the Senate before he nominates any person for a very important office.

Making Treaties. — The President has authority to negotiate treaties and to receive foreign ministers and ambassadors. He thus has a great influence upon our relations with foreign countries. It often depends upon him whether this country shall sustain friendly relations with other nations or whether it shall incur the danger of war. He is also the commander of the army and navy. He appoints and promotes the officers, and controls the movements, of ships and troops. It is by order of the President that the fleet makes long trips into foreign waters. By his order, too, the army may be concentrated or stationed at this or that place.

President's Messages. — The President has the right to address Congress on legislation and to urge upon the national legislators such changes in the laws as he may consider wise. For this end, he writes an annual message as well as special messages. It is not intended that the President should take a further personal part in legislation. When he has called the attention of Congress to certain needs, it is for that body to consider the manner in which they may be met.

Veto Power. — When an act has been passed, as is the case in the States, it must be submitted to the President, who has the right to veto it. If a bill is sent to the President during the last ten days of a session, he need not return it to Congress with his signature or veto. If he does not sign it, the act fails and does not become a law. This is called the *pocket veto*. Acts sent to the President before this time must either be vetoed or signed by him and returned to Congress. That body has the right to pass a bill over the President's veto if two thirds of the members are in favor of doing so.

Presidential Succession. — In case of the death or disability of the President, the Vice-President becomes President. If the latter dies or becomes

disabled, the law provides that the Secretary of State shall act as President. Should he die, some one of the other secretaries of departments will discharge the duties of the office, the order being prescribed by law.

QUESTIONS

1. What other countries are republics ?
2. How many Presidents has the United States had?
Which of them died in office ?
3. What offices had the last three Presidents held ?
4. Compare present inaugural ceremonies with those in Washington's and Jefferson's time.
5. Which Presidents have held prominent military offices ?
6. Which of them started as poor boys ?
7. What is the electoral college ?
8. Tell how a President is elected.
9. Describe the inauguration of a President.
10. What appointive powers has the President ?
11. What are the purposes of the messages sent to Congress by the President ? Find a copy of one and discuss it briefly.
12. Describe the veto power of the President.
13. Who may become President in case of his death or disability ?
14. Name two instances when this has been necessary.

CHAPTER XXVII

THE CABINET

Heads of Departments. — In the work of administering the affairs of the nation, the President is assisted by the cabinet. This council is composed of the heads of the great executive departments. These officials are appointed by the President and are responsible to him. Should he be dissatisfied with their action, he may call upon them to resign. We have already considered the work which is performed by some of these departments, but it will be well to rehearse them in this place, as they are so important.

Secretary of State. — The Secretary of State administers the foreign affairs of the nation. He controls the actions of our diplomatic representatives abroad as well as of the consular officials. It is also his duty to preserve important state documents and the original copies of the laws, to which the great seal of the United States is affixed. In the library of this department we

may see such precious documents as the original copy of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States.

The Secretary of the Treasury. — The Secretary of the Treasury administers the financial department of the government. He oversees the collection of revenues and the payment of them to the various departments which are to expend them. The Life Saving Service is under his direction.

The Secretary of War. — The Secretary of War is in charge of our military establishment. The action and movements of our troops and provision for their maintenance are under his care. In this department there is also the Bureau of Insular Affairs, where the business of our outlying territories, such as the Philippine Islands, Porto Rico, and the Panama Canal Zone, are looked after.

The Attorney-General. — The Attorney-General is the legal adviser of the government. Whenever an important action is to be taken, his counsel is invoked by the President or other high officials. He also represents the government in great law-suits, and superintends the action of all the federal district-attorneys throughout the nation.

The Postmaster-General. — The Postmaster-General has charge of the business of the post offices of the country, of making contracts for the transportation and delivery of the mails, and of appointing the postmasters in the smaller towns and in the rural districts.

The Secretary of the Navy. — The Secretary of the Navy has control of all naval affairs. The construction and movements of battleships, the direction of the Naval Academy, the control of navy-yards, are some of the important matters that come under his authority.

The Secretary of the Interior. — Under the charge of the Secretary of the Interior are such interests as the public lands, the affairs of the Indian tribes, the Geological Survey, the Bureau of Education, and the Pension Office. The preservation of our natural resources in lands, forests, and mines comes especially under the charge of this department, which gives it great importance in promoting the welfare of the people.

The Secretary of Agriculture. — The work of the Secretary of Agriculture consists in superintending all the agencies through which the national government is attempting to help the farmers in making their work more profitable. A large num-

ber of scientific experts are employed in seeking for improvements in agriculture.

The Secretary of Commerce.—The Department of Commerce includes the divisions of the census, of navigation, of fisheries, and of the coast survey. The Bureau of Corporations finds out about the management of the great industries of our country and how closely they observe the national laws.

The Secretary of Labor.—His department deals with matters relating to labor and immigration. The Bureau of Immigration sees that the laws which govern the treatment of immigrants, and which exclude from our country people who are diseased, or paupers, or criminals, are enforced.

Civil Service.—In these various departments over three hundred thousand officials and clerks are employed. With the exception of the highest positions, which are filled by presidential appointment, these offices are filled through civil service examinations. Several times during the year examinations for the various branches of the service are held in our large cities. Any person may be admitted to these tests. The candidate must answer certain questions submitted to him, which test his general education and his special fitness for the work required. A good high-school edu-

cation, with some special study in the particular branches, should fit any one to pass the examinations for clerkships. Those who have passed with credit are placed on a list which is sent to the head of the department that has the appointing power. He must make his selection from the highest names on this list. It is very desirable that people should be appointed to office on account of their ability to do the work required and not for political reasons. If they prove lazy or incompetent, they can be dismissed by the head of the department, but any new appointment must be made from those who have passed the examination. This system is the only one under which the affairs of government can be managed in a businesslike way.

QUESTIONS

1. Send to the Civil Service Commission at Washington or to the Commission in your state, if there is one, for samples of the questions that are put to candidates for government clerkships. See what subjects you would have to study in order to pass a civil service examination.

2. Name the present members of the cabinet, and ascertain what public positions they held before being appointed to their present position.

3. Should there be a federal department of education? What could such a department do?

4. What are some of the advantages of the civil service method of selecting public officers?

5. Name the departments of the cabinet in the order of their importance and value to the country.

6. By whom are the cabinet members appointed?

7. Are the members always chosen from the same political party which the President represents? Is this right?

8. Why is the Life Saving Service under the control of the Secretary of the Treasury?

9. Why should the Secretary of War have charge of the Philippines and the Panama Canal Zone? What is this zone, and how acquired?

10. What postmasters are appointed by the Postmaster-General? Who appoints the others?

11. Would you like a government position? Why?

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE CONGRESS

Congress. — The Congress of the United States is composed of the Senate and the House of Representatives. When we speak of a congressman, we refer to a member of the House. A member of the Senate is always spoken of as a senator.

Senators. — In the Senate of the United States each state, no matter how large or small, has two representatives. Rhode Island and Texas are on a perfect equality in the Senate. The Senate, therefore, is not a very large body. There are less than one hundred senators, and they come to know each other very well. Senators are elected for a term of six years, but as they are frequently reëlected it has happened that senators have held their office for as long as twenty or thirty years. Senators were formerly elected by the state legislatures. But the 17th Amendment, adopted in 1913, provides that they are to be elected directly by the voters in the states. This will tend to make the Senate more directly subject to public control.

Congressmen. — The members of the House of Representatives are elected directly by the people. Each state is divided into congressional districts according to its population. New York, the largest state, has forty-three districts, the smallest states have only one. At the present time the House of Representatives has four hundred and thirty-five members. The representatives hold office for two years only, but are also frequently reelected. The House being a much larger body than the Senate, its members do not become so well acquainted with one another. The members who have held office longest acquire great influence.

The Speaker. — One of the congressmen is elected Speaker, or presiding officer, of the House. He is the acknowledged leader of the majority party in the House, and as such wields a very great influence in determining what legislation shall be taken up and how much time shall be given to each measure. No member is permitted to speak unless he is recognized by the Speaker, and as the Speaker cannot recognize all who desire to speak, it follows that he has the power to select the men whom he will permit to be heard on the floor of the House. A member of the House can,

therefore, accomplish very little if the Speaker is opposed to him. Members of long service in the House will be made chairmen of the important committees. The Speaker will consult with these men upon legislation. In this way the policy of the House is determined.

The Vice-President. — The Senate is presided over by the Vice-President of the United States. He is not a member of the Senate, and has no vote unless the senators are equally divided in opinion in which case his vote decides the question. While in the House the members are strictly limited in the time given to them for speaking, a senator may speak as long and as often as he desires on any measure before the Senate. It has happened that senators have talked so long against a certain bill that the session ended before the bill could be passed. This is called "talking a bill to death."

Bills. — As in the state legislatures, every bill which is introduced must be referred to a committee. It cannot be acted upon until the committee has reported. Many thousands of bills are never reported upon, but, as we say, they die in the committee room or they are put to sleep there. Any citizen has the right to appear before a com-

mittee in order to express his opinion on proposed legislation.

All bills for the purpose of raising revenue, that is, for imposing or changing taxes, must first be introduced in the House. The Senate may amend such bills when they come to it, so that it also exercises a great power over the revenues. The Senate has also the right to give or refuse its consent to any treaty which the President has negotiated with a foreign country. Thus, it comes about that the Senate exerts a great influence over our foreign affairs. Without the approval of the Senate it is impossible for the President to make a treaty or to appoint certain diplomatic officials.

QUESTIONS

1. Describe the appearance of the Senate chamber, or of the hall of the House of Representatives.
2. Name six prominent senators and six members of the House.
3. Why do the members of the House submit to the power of the Speaker?
4. Who is the member of Congress for the district in which you live? What was his business before his election?
5. Does it seem just that Texas or New York should have no more senators than Rhode Island or Delaware?

6. How many members has the Senate now? The House of Representatives?

7. Are the territories represented in Congress?

8. What do we mean by an allowance for mileage? By the franking privilege?

9. How and for how long is a senator elected?

10. In case of the death of a senator, how is his successor chosen?

11. How many congressional districts in your state? Why?

12. What changes were made in the rules committee during the House session of 1910? Why?

13. When does a treaty negotiated by the President become a law?

14. When can the President of the Senate vote?

15. Why should all bills for the raising of revenue originate in the House? What power has the Senate regarding such bills?

*See ye vers
Congress*

CHAPTER XXIX

THE FEDERAL COURTS

Powers of the Courts.—The courts of the federal government are of great dignity and authority. The entire government is carried on under the Constitution, but the courts have the power to decide as to the meaning of any constitutional provision. Congress has the right to legislate, but its action must be limited by the powers granted in the Constitution. If it goes beyond these powers in the opinion of the Supreme Court, the court will declare its action unconstitutional. A decision of this kind would render the act void, because whatever law the courts do not approve has no validity.

District and Circuit Courts.—The lowest federal court is the district court. There is one such tribunal in every state, and the larger states have two or more. Since the abolishment of the circuit court by the Judiciary Act, which took effect January, 1913, cases can be taken from the district court to the circuit court of appeals. There are nine such courts in the United States. The circuit

court of appeals is composed of three judges, who may be either circuit or district judges. There must, however, be at least one circuit judge in the court. The official who carries out the decrees and judgments of a federal court is called the marshal. In the state courts, this duty is performed by the sheriff.

The Supreme Court. — Any case involving the question whether a law or an official act is valid under the Constitution may be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States. This is also true in certain criminal cases involving life and liberty. The Supreme Court is composed of nine justices who are lawyers of great ability. The court is a body of impressive dignity. When it is in session, the judges wear judicial gowns, which add to their aspect of gravity. The ablest attorneys from all parts of the nation appear before this court to argue cases.

Jurisdiction. — The federal courts hear cases which arise under the federal Constitution or under the laws passed by Congress. The ordinary criminal cases are tried in the courts of the state. If a person should sell liquor to Indians, or should steal timber from a federal forest reserve, he would be tried before a federal court. Ordinary

lawsuits between citizens also come up before the state courts. But if we are suing a citizen of another state, we may bring our action either in a court of his state or in a federal court. In such cases the federal courts are usually appealed to. Federal courts also hear all cases relating to navigation on the large rivers, lakes, and the sea.

Appointment of Judges.—The judges in all the federal courts are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate. They are not appointed for a definite term, but during good behavior. This means that they hold office for life, unless they should be guilty of some crime or misdemeanor. In that case they may be deprived of their office, after being impeached by the House and found guilty by the Senate. Other high officials, including the President, may be impeached and tried in a similar manner. Only one President has been impeached, and he was not found guilty by the Senate. To pronounce a judge or official guilty, the votes of at least two thirds of the senators are required.

QUESTIONS

1. Is it better that judges should be elected for a limited time, or appointed for life ?

2. For what crimes could a marshal make arrests ?
3. Name the present justices of the Supreme Court. Did they hold judicial office before coming to their present positions ?
4. What should be the character and attainments of a Supreme Court Justice ?
5. What powers has the Supreme Court ?
6. Why is it necessary to have such a body ?
7. Name one law passed by Congress which the Supreme Court has declared unconstitutional.
8. What are district and circuit courts ?
9. In what court would a postmaster accused of embezzling government money be tried ? Why ?
10. If you were injured in another state and brought suit to recover damages, where and in what courts could the case be tried ?

CHAPTER XXX

INTERNATIONAL UNIONS

ALTHOUGH our state and nation are very powerful, they necessarily have relations with other countries. No nation is entirely self-sufficient. They must all coöperate in order that the greatest advantages of civilization may be secured. Thus, nations help one another in gaining important information, in protecting one another against epidemics, in forwarding one another's mail, and in making it possible to have commercial intercourse. For these various purposes international unions have been created, of many of which the United States is a member.

The Hague Court. — The most important international organization is The Hague Court of Arbitration. Should a controversy arise between nations, the danger always exists that war may follow, but war is a most costly and cruel method of settling international differences. In most cases it is entirely unnecessary. It is far better

that the matter in dispute should be investigated by an impartial court and decided according to its judgment.

The international court was created in 1899. It holds its sessions at The Hague in Holland. It is composed of representatives of all the nations, and any two nations having a dispute may submit it to this tribunal for arbitration. Many treaties have been made between nations in order to make this possible. We may well be encouraged by the progress of arbitration. The number of arbitration treaties has rapidly increased and those in force in 1915 numbered over two hundred. At such a rate is reason being substituted for force.

The Postal Union. — Another important organization is the Universal Postal Union, to which practically all nations in the world belong. Under the regulations made by this union the mails are transmitted between different countries. Other unions are the Sanitary Union, which protects nations against epidemics; the Agricultural Institute, which develops the interests of agriculture; the Patent and Copyright Unions, by which the property of writers and inventors is preserved; and the Union of Weights and Measures, which

keeps the standards of measures which are used the world over. Our nation is further bound together with other nations of the American hemisphere in the Pan-American Union, which exists for the purpose of promoting the interests of all America. Its work is done through the Bureau of American Republics, which is located at Washington.

Every international union has a central office. Some of these are located in Switzerland, some in Belgium, some in other countries. This central bureau supplies all the governments with information about the matters with which it deals. It also helps the various governments to do their business with one another.

QUESTIONS

1. What are international unions? Why necessary? Name six.
2. Describe the Hague Court.
3. What is the Postal Union? What are the benefits derived from it?

PART IV
SOME AMERICAN IDEALS

CHAPTER XXXI

HOSPITALITY TO ALL PEOPLE

THE city of New York has one of the most beautiful harbors in the world. If we were to enter it on one of the big ocean steamers, we should see to our left the green, wooded hills of New Jersey, and the high forts of Governor's Island. To our right would stretch the level shore of Long Island, with its many towns, to which people resort in the summer. Ahead would rise the tall, tower-like buildings of the city of New York, which is connected with Brooklyn by the wonderful sweep of the high Brooklyn Bridge. But there, as we enter the harbor, on a small island arises the Statue of Liberty, enlightening the world. This is a tall figure of a woman holding in her hand high above her head a torch, which at night sheds light over the entire harbor. This great statue was presented to the people of the United States by our Sister Republic, France. It was placed here at the gateway of our country so that all who come

from other countries may realize that they are entering the land of freedom.

Many thousand ships pass into this harbor every year. They carry in their holds great quantities



STATUE OF LIBERTY, NEW YORK HARBOR

of goods which our merchants have purchased in other countries. They bring lace and silks from France, objects of art from Italy, clothing of various kinds from England and Germany, coffee from Brazil, rubber and gold from Africa. But they bring a more precious freight than all this. On these ships return to our shores the many thousands of our countrymen who have been traveling in foreign lands on business, to study, to learn the customs of other nations, or for health

or pleasure. With them come thousands and thousands of people who have never been in this country before. From all parts of the world they come, anxious to make their home in our rich country and to share with us the blessings of freedom and good government. Over a million immigrants have come to our shores in a single year. Most of them come to New York, but other ports, like Boston, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Charleston, New Orleans, San Francisco, and Seattle, are also doorways through which strangers enter our land. In former years, they used to come mostly from England, Ireland, and Germany, but at present we get more people from other countries. In the last few years, most of our immigrants have come from Austria, Italy, and Russia, and at present Poles, Slavonians, Hungarians, Italians, and Russians are coming in large numbers.

When these immigrants reach the harbor of New York, they are very happy that the long voyage is over. They may have had to travel many days by railway in Europe before they came to the port at which they took their ship. Then came the ocean voyage of ten days or two weeks, with nothing to look at but the sea and the sky. They had left home and dear ones behind. They came in order

that they and their children might lead a happier and freer life in this country. In their old home, they may have had to work sixteen hours a day for wages too small to enable them to live in



HIGH SCHOOL FOR GIRLS, PHILADELPHIA

comfort. For years they saved every penny in order to be able to pay their passage to the new country, where men are free and equal. And now their hopes have at last been fulfilled and they have reached the end of their voyage.

When they reach the port of New York, however, they are not at once allowed to go on shore; they are not welcomed and taken care of by kind friends. All immigrants are taken to Ellis Island,

where the officials of the government inspect them. Though we welcome to our shores the people of all nations, nevertheless, our laws do not admit criminals, paupers, the insane, or those having contagious diseases. If such people were admitted, they might prove a menace to public health and a source of great expense for maintenance. Hence these classes are excluded. All others, however, no matter how poor, who are able to look out for themselves and are willing to work, are gladly admitted. When they have been properly inspected, they take their big bundles of baggage and are transferred by steamer or ferry to a railway station, whence they can begin their journey to the place where they desire to live.

Thus these people from other countries scatter all over our broad land, seeking to make themselves new homes. Many will settle in the large cities like New York, Philadelphia, or Chicago. There they enter factories, or work for the street car companies, or dig trenches in the streets for gas and water mains. Others will find employment with railway companies as section hands, or in building new railways; making embankments, and laying ties and tracks. Still others will go to the mines of Pennsylvania and dig underground for

coal, or they may go to the iron mines of Michigan, or the gold and silver mines of the West. Those who bring a little more money will buy land for themselves in the country, will put buildings and stock on it, and start a farm. These will have the most independent life; the others often have very hard work to do. In fact, the hardest work in our country is done mostly by new immigrants, and our great railways and mines would not have a sufficient force of laborers, if new workmen were not all the time coming to us from other countries.

But all these millions of people who come to us from foreign lands soon become Americans; they learn our language and learn to love our government and institutions. If they work hard and are thrifty, they soon better their condition. They are able to have their own homes and to save a little money against sickness or old age. Their children will go to school, and will enjoy all the opportunities our country offers. As they become better educated, their life becomes more enjoyable, and many among them acquire wealth and influence.

Our nation has always welcomed people from all the countries of the world, but especially from Europe, because the nations of Europe belong to

the same race as ourselves. Our nation is thus composed of people of all the older nations, and all the good and noble qualities which they bring will enrich our national life. They represent an older civilization from which we have much to learn. They bring to our shores not only strength for manual labor, but often a degree of skill or knowledge that may prove greatly helpful.

CHAPTER XXXII

LIBERTY

IF we look at one of our silver coins, the quarter- or half-dollar, we shall see on it the head of a woman. She wears a diadem, or head-band, on which is written the word "Liberty." On her head she wears a curious cap, which is called the cap of liberty. This has the same form as the cap which in old Rome a master gave to a slave whom he set free. It was the sign of freedom, and it has remained so till this day, although happily there are no more slaves to be freed. We also often write the word "Liberty" on our banners and carve it in stone on our public buildings. All this shows what we think of it. When our forefathers had braved a harsh climate and repelled the savages, when they had made themselves homes in the American wilderness, when they had cleared the land around their villages and made the earth bear rich crops, when they had built towns and had made fleets of ships to sail on the

sea, then they felt that they wanted liberty. They wanted to manage their own affairs and not to be subject to a government across the ocean. So they bravely fought the armies of England and suffered great hardships until they had finally won that liberty which they wanted and which was their right.

That is one form of liberty, for a people to be free and independent of control by an outside government, which they do not elect. At that time our nation was still small, having fewer people than the one state of Ohio has at present. But our forefathers knew that we could become a great and powerful nation, if our people were allowed to govern themselves. So they risked their lives and their all to secure so desirable an end.

Liberty, however, means more than freedom from foreign rule. It is not enough that no outside government should be able to control us. Suppose some man should gather an army about himself and should make himself so powerful that he could force us to do what he pleased. Even if he were an American, we should not be free if we had to obey him. This is what Napoleon did in France. He was a lieutenant in the army, and when there was an uprising of the people in Paris, he com-

manded his gunners to fire their cannon into the crowd. This act restored order, but it also gave Napoleon the start in his struggle for power. He finally got control of the army, and his will was law in France. He even made war on the neighboring nations and conquered some of them. He desired to be the ruler of the world. That purpose he did not attain. Government by a Napoleon is not liberty. Liberty means that the nation is governed by the men whom it has freely elected. So our forefathers adopted the Constitution. In all the states, too, constitutions were made. These provide that the President and the governors and the legislatures shall be elected by the people. This is what we call political liberty.

Some people think that if they live in a land of liberty they ought to be able to do exactly what they please, without being hindered by any one. Would it be liberty to throw stones at a neighbor's windows, or to use firearms in the main streets, or to drive an automobile so fast as to endanger life? No; liberty does not mean that we can do anything we please. If we are to live in peace and harmony with our fellow-citizens, we must respect their rights. Imagine for a minute what would happen if every one did as he liked. The com-

munity would be at the mercy of the criminal classes. Not only would property be insecure, but life itself would be in danger. But that would not be liberty — it would be anarchy. If there were no restraint, there would be no liberty. So we have laws which protect us from violence, and force us to respect the rights of others. To obey such laws is not to sacrifice freedom, because if people did not obey them, no one would be free.

We do want to be free to do what we choose, as long as we do not injure any one else. We often hear people say, "This is a free country." That does not mean that we have no laws which every one must obey. It means that we have no unnecessary laws. In some countries, people are not allowed to follow the business which they like. This is not liberty. In others, the police are always watching people, opening their letters, and giving them orders. Neither is this liberty. Sometimes the government is overcareful to protect people against their own carelessness. In our country, we may walk on the railway tracks, or jump on a train when it is beginning to move, or ride a bicycle in crowded streets. We take the risk of injury ourselves. In some countries, these things are forbidden because they are dangerous.

It is not difficult to do what the law demands. If we do not do things which injure others, we are free to go where we please and to follow our own wishes. We are truly free when we do what is right, because then we shall live happily and without fear. If we wrong others, or if we do that which is low and mean, we shall ourselves become low and mean, and our happiness will be at an end. So liberty, and good laws, and self-respect, and respect for the rights of other people are all one. We are free if all do what is right.

CHAPTER XXXIII

EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

It is impossible that all men should have the same amount of money and property. We cannot have such equality and do not want it. If a man has worked harder, or has learned his business or trade better, or does more for his fellow-men than others do, he also deserves better payment. But the equality which we believe in is that every man should have an equal chance to do all that his ability will let him do. Now in some countries, a boy must follow the trade of his father, even if he does not like it and can do something else better; or if he has no rich and powerful friends, a young man cannot get ahead in life. In our country, we do not ask who a young man's grandfather is, but who he is himself. We do not ask who is backing the young man, but what he has learned and what he can do. It is because every man has the whole world and every chance open before him that our country is so prosperous. We

must see to it that this shall never be changed, for this is true equality.

The example of many great men who began life as poor boys shows that in our country the high-



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est honors may come to a man, even if he has to start at the very bottom. Such honors, however, do not come to all. Not all of us, or most of us, attain to high honor as statesmen, or to great wealth, but we are all equal in that we have an equal chance to use our powers and abilities. We may also be equal in happiness, for wherever a man does his duty, whether he is a farm hand, or a sailor, or a banker, he leads an honorable life. If he tries to get what is not due him, if he is untrue, cruel, or afraid of work, he will have no honor, no matter how rich he may be. So in our country, though we cannot all be President, we can all do the work for which we are best fitted, and we shall

be judged by the way in which we do our duty. When we say that our country is the land of equality, we mean this, that every man may make the most of his talents. The great opportunities that are open before all of us should inspire us to great effort.

It is because we believe in equality that we think so much of our schools. Unless all boys and girls can have at least a common school education, they do not get a fair start in life. Of course, there have been men who have done great things without ever going to school, but they were strong enough to give themselves the education which their parents could not give them. There is hardly anybody now who cannot attend school. If Garfield's mother, a widow with five small children, could keep them at school, while she was managing the farm, surely there are few parents who cannot give their children at least the rudiments of an education. Many states have a law that compels parents to send their children to school. Every true American believes in good schools.

CHAPTER XXXIV

PATRIOTISM

THE love of country has at all times been a powerful motive among those races that have achieved most in the world. The love of the Athenian for his native city, the pride of the Roman in the great Empire of which he was a member, have been inherited and developed by the citizen of the modern state. We love our country because it is our own. It is the field within which the action of our lives takes place, and its population is made up not only of our friends and close acquaintances, but of all the other people who stand for the ideas and customs which we ourselves cherish. Our nation is made one by its common memory of the great struggles which it has gone through and the triumphs which it has achieved. The history of our country is full of glorious deeds and great achievements. We love to dwell on the contest which the early settlers waged in the wilderness against the forces of

nature and the hostility of the savages. We follow with interest the upbuilding of communities and states. The great struggle in which our country claimed and maintained its independence fills us with enthusiasm. We love to read the lives of the great leaders, from Winthrop and Washington down to the statesmen of the present time, who have guided the nation in times of peace and of war.

Our nation has a common language and literature. Although many other languages are spoken, the one language is understood by all. Our nation has its own ideals of political life, which have already been set forth in these pages. We believe that the government should rest on public opinion, and that the will of every citizen should enter into the life of the state. We believe in peace and justice in international relations. In social life, too, our ideals are those of a new, rich, and hopeful country. We do not have classes of nobility or inherited privileges. It is our ideal that every man should rely upon his own character and abilities, and that he should be given a free chance with every one else to show what he can do. His success in life should depend upon the extent to which he has made himself useful to his fellow-men.

All these things together make the ideal of American nationality. The belief in this ideal, and the desire to realize and maintain it, is true patriotism. We cannot be truly patriotic without knowing and understanding what our national life means and what our nation stands for. When we thoroughly understand these ideals and devote ourselves to them, we are patriots. Patriotism is not a thoughtless feeling. When we hang out our national flag in front of our home, or when we cheer the patriotic sentiments of a public speaker, we should know that it is not merely a flag or the outward excitement that makes patriotism, but the deep feeling of devotion and sacrifice which lies back of such outward expressions.

One of the first things that occur to us when we speak of patriotism is the readiness to sacrifice our welfare and even our life when the needs of our country require. Bravery in war is the most striking expression of patriotism. We pay special honor to those who have shown great courage at times when their country was endangered by invasion or by war. History is full of shining examples of men who have given up every thought of self and have laid down their lives cheerfully in order to save their country. A teacher will be

happy to tell the story of Leonidas, of Manlius, or of Winkelried. Our own history, too, has many examples of personal bravery. We need only refer to John Paul Jones, Ethan Allen, and the steadfast courage of Washington.

Patriotism is something positive and active, — a readiness to do something for our country. It does not express itself in a narrow-minded hostility to foreign people. It is not patriotic to think that all foreigners are inferior and that their countries are less advanced than ours. Such ideas only show ignorance. We are only one of the great nations, though we want to be and remain a *great* people. Our love for our own country should not express itself in enmity against others. A strong nation may well be friendly and just to other peoples, and protect the foreigners who have placed themselves under the care of its government. It would be a disgrace to our nation if foreigners were not protected as we ourselves expect to be when we find ourselves in foreign lands.

Though bravery in times of war excites our interest most, still a citizen has need of bravery also in the quiet years of peace. He must be brave to do his own thinking, brave to act according to

his sense of justice. If he holds office, he must be brave enough to face reproach and enmity for the sake of doing right and to disoblige powerful friends who might desire to influence his action in their own interest. It may even be said that it requires a greater and more persistent courage to fulfil our duty to our state in times of peace than in times of war. The excitement of war carries the soldier, as it were, outside of himself. He is raised to a higher plane of courage and self-sacrifice. But in the ordinary times of peace, men have no such powerful incentive for devotion to the welfare of their country. They are surrounded by men who are striving for their own interest. Each one, therefore, must constantly set before him the great things which our country stands for, and which our government must accomplish for the people if our nation is to prosper in the future.

To make our country safe and respected, a good home for ourselves and those that come after us, should be the desire of every patriotic citizen. A special duty is laid upon political leaders in our country. Here the people have a part in government. We aim at making the state the expression of the common life. It is not to exist for a favored few or for men in power and office-holders.

Government is merely a service to the people of the nation. Ours is an experiment in popular government, which is being watched by all other nations. In order that it may succeed, we should all of us understand the nature of the high objects our nation is striving for. Every day of our lives we should assist in attaining these objects, even if we have to sacrifice time and money and opportunities. We should not begrudge our service, but should think it an honor and a privilege to assist in so great a work.

The great orator and patriot, Fisher Ames, has said:—

“What is patriotism? Is it a narrow affection for the spot where a man was born? Are the very clods where we tread entitled to this ardent preference because they are greener? No, sir, this is not the character of the virtue, and it soars higher for its object. It is an extended self-love, mingling with all the enjoyments of life, and twisting itself with the minutest filaments of the heart. It is thus we obey the laws of society, because they are the laws of virtue. In their authority we see, not the array of force and terror, but the venerable image of our country's honor. Every good citizen makes that honor his own, and cherishes it not only as precious, but as sacred. He is willing to risk his life in its defence, and is conscious that he gains protection while he gives it.”

PART V

ANALYSIS OF THE CONSTITUTION OF
THE UNITED STATES

CHAPTER XXXV

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, ADOPTED BY CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

A DECLARATION BY THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED
STATES OF AMERICA, IN CONGRESS ASSEMBLED.

WHEN, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal stations to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by

abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such a government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world: —

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome, and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operations, till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature; a right inestimable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the State remaining, in the mean time, exposed to all the dangers of invasions from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose, obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation: —

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our consent;

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury;

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the powers of our government;

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burned our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms; our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attentions to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usur-

pations, which would inevitably interrupt our corrections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war; in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in general congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, *Free and Independent States*; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as *Free and Independent States*, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which *Independent States* may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of DIVINE PROVIDENCE, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE. — Josiah Bartlett, William Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY. — Samuel Adams, John Adams, Robert Treat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND, ETC. — Stephen Hopkins, William Ellery.

CONNECTICUT. — Roger Sherman, Samuel Huntington, William Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

NEW YORK. — William Floyd, Philip Livingston, Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris.

NEW JERSEY. — Richard Stockton, John Witherspoon, Francis Hopkinson, John Hart, Abraham Clark.

PENNSYLVANIA. — Robert Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, John Morton, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, James Wilson, George Ross.

DELAWARE. — Cæsar Rodney, George Read, Thomas M'Kean.

MARYLAND. — Samuel Chase, William Paca, Thomas Stone, Charles Carroll of Carrollton.

VIRGINIA. — George Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Thomas Jefferson, Benjamin Harrison, Thomas Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

NORTH CAROLINA. — William Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

SOUTH CAROLINA. — Edward Rutledge, Thomas Hayward, Jr., Thomas Lynch, Jr., Arthur Middleton.

GEORGIA. — Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, George Walton.

ANALYSIS OF THE UNITED STATES CONSTITUTION

(In this brief analysis there are indicated merely the most important of the provisions of the Constitution, with which every person ought to be familiar.)

I. ORGANIZATION OF THE GOVERNMENT

1. THE LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT. *The House of Representatives.* — Members chosen every two years by such electors in the states as have the right to vote for members of the state legislature. Representatives must be twenty-five years of age, and must have been citizens for seven years. They are apportioned among the states according to population.

The Senate. — There are two senators from each state, elected for six years by the state electorate. One third of the members of the Senate are elected every two years. Senators must be thirty years of age, and must have been citizens for nine years.

Each house is the judge of the election and qualifications of its own members. A majority constitutes a quorum to do business. Each house determines the rules of its proceedings, and keeps a journal. At the desire of one fifth of the members present, the yeas and nays on any question shall be entered on the journal.

2. THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT. — The President of the United States is elected by electors chosen by the voters in each state. Each state is entitled to as many electors as it has senators and representatives in Congress. The President must be a native-born citizen of the United States over thirty-five years of age. The Vice-President is elected in a similar manner.

3. THE JUDICIARY DEPARTMENT. — The Constitution provides for one Supreme Court. Inferior courts may from time to time be established by Congress. The judges shall hold office during good behavior. They are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate.

II. THE POWERS OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

1. THE POWERS OF CONGRESS. — Congress may: —
Lay and collect taxes;

Borrow money;

Regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the states;

Establish uniform laws on naturalization and on bankruptcy;

Coin money;

Establish post-offices and post roads;

Grant patents and copyrights;

Define and punish offenses against international law;

Declare war;

Raise and support an army and a navy, and make rules for the land and naval forces;

Provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws, and for the organization of the militia;

Exercise exclusive legislative power over the federal district (of Columbia) and other land and property of the United States;

Make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution these powers.

Congress may also admit new states into the Union, and

May make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territories or other property belonging to the United States.

All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives, but the Senate may propose amendments.

The House of Representatives further has the power to impeach or accuse any high official. The

Senate shall try such impeachments. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside. The Senate further has the power to give or withhold its consent to all treaties and appointments made by the President.

2. THE EXECUTIVE. — The President is commander-in-chief of the army and navy.

He may require the opinion of the principal officer in each of the executive departments. (These officers form the President's cabinet.)

He may grant pardons for offenses against the United States.

He shall from time to time give the Congress information on the state of the Union (in his messages), and recommend measures of legislation.

He has the right to convene the houses of Congress in executive session.

He receives ambassadors and other foreign ministers.

He shall take care that the laws are faithfully executed.

By and with the consent of the Senate, the President makes treaties with foreign nations and appoints the higher public officials in the federal service.

3. THE FEDERAL COURTS. — The judicial power of the United States extends over the following matters:

All cases arising under the Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties;

Cases affecting ambassadors and other public ministers and consuls;

Cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;

Controversies between two or more states, between a state and citizens of another state, and between citizens of different states;

Cases in which foreigners are a party.

By the Eleventh Amendment, it is provided that the judicial power of the United States shall not extend to a suit prosecuted against a state by a citizen of another state or by a foreigner.

In all criminal trials there shall be a jury, and the trials shall be held in the state where the crime has been committed.

III. POWERS WHICH ARE DENIED TO THE UNITED STATES

The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, except in cases of rebellion or invasion.

No law shall be passed to punish a person for an action which was not a crime at the time when it was committed. Such a law would be called an *ex post facto* law.

Head taxes or other direct taxes shall not be laid unless in proportion to the population.

There shall be no tax on articles exported from any state.

No preference shall be given to the ports of one state over those of another, in the matter of commercial regulations.

No money shall be drawn from the treasury but in consequence of appropriations granted by law.

No title of nobility shall be granted.

The powers of the federal government are also limited by the Bill of Rights in the amendments, which see below.

IV. POWERS WHICH ARE DENIED TO THE STATES

States shall not enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation.

They shall not coin money or issue bills of credit.

They shall not make anything but gold and silver coin legal tender for the payment of debts.

They shall not pass any *ex post facto* law or any law by which the obligation of existing contracts is impaired.

They shall not grant any title of nobility.

States shall not keep troops or ships of war in time of peace.

They shall not lay any duty on the tonnage of vessels.

The United States guarantees to every state in the Union a republican form of government. A state could not, therefore, under the Constitution, set up a monarchical government.

The United States also shall protect the states against domestic violence, on application of the legislature or of the executive of the state.

V. POWER OF AMENDMENT

The Constitution of the United States may be amended in the following manner: —

Amendments shall be *proposed* in either of the following ways: First, two thirds of both houses of Congress may propose amendments; second, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the states, a national convention for proposing amendments shall be called.

The amendments shall be *ratified* or adopted in either of the following ways: First, by the legislatures of three fourths of the several states; second, by conventions in three fourths of the states. Congress may determine which mode of ratification shall be used.

It is specially provided that no state shall, without its consent, be deprived of its equal representation in the Senate.

VI. THE BILL OF RIGHTS

(Contained in the amendments to the Constitution.)

Amendments. — I. Congress shall make no law establishing a religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; it shall not abridge the freedom of speech or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition the government.

II. The right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed.

III. No soldiers shall in time of peace be quartered in any house without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war except under law.

IV. The homes of the people shall not be searched, except upon warrants sworn to and describing particularly the place to be searched and the person or things to be seized.

V. In the trial of persons for crime, the due process of law shall be observed.

No person shall twice be tried for the same offense.

No person shall be compelled in a criminal case to be a witness against himself.

Private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation.

The rights of a criminal to an impartial trial are further protected by Article VI.

VII. In suits at common law (civil cases) where the amount involved shall exceed \$20, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved.

VIII. Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines be imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

X. The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people.

XIII. (Adopted 1865.) Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall exist except as a punishment for crime.

XIV. No state shall make or enforce a law which shall abridge the rights or immunities of citizens of the United States, nor shall it deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

XV. The right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

XVI. Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes.

XVII. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state elected by the people thereof for six years, and each senator shall have one vote. In order to vote for a senator, a voter must be qualified to vote for members of the state legislature.

CHAPTER XXXVI

NOTE ON BOYS' REPUBLICS, CONVENTIONS, ETC.

MANY of the operations and activities of government may be undertaken by young students, either as a part of their recreation, or in a more serious spirit. Under all circumstances, we should remember that politics in itself is a very important matter, and strive to prepare ourselves for future duties of citizenship by learning to know the actual methods of government.

Thus it is interesting to organize a state or national convention. We would begin by electing a chairman, secretary, and other officials, having divided up the students into delegations from various districts or states. After his election, the permanent chairman would make a speech, dealing with the issues in the state or nation. Thereupon would follow the adoption of a platform and the placing in nomination of various candidates for the offices to be filled. After the nominations have been made, voting begins, which continues until one of the candidates has received a simple majority or a two thirds vote of all the delegates as may be agreed upon beforehand. In organizing a convention of this kind, the organizations of the national convention of both the Republican and Demo-

cratic parties, as well as of the state conventions, should be studied.

Again, we may organize a legislature, electing a speaker, clerk, and sergeant-at-arms. When the house is in session, resolutions may be offered, debated, and voted upon, and other public business may be transacted, according to the rules of parliamentary law. Every American citizen ought to have enough training in the manner of conducting a public meeting not to feel out of place in presiding on such an occasion. He should know when and how to present any motion he desires to make. Proposed legislation may be drawn up in the form of bills, introduced in the house, referred to a committee, and, after discussion, reported back for debate in the main body. A legislative body should be provided with a set of rules, regulating its procedure, in addition to the general rules of parliamentary law, which may be found in such manuals as that of Roberts or Cushing.

It would also be possible for us to organize a complete republic or community. This could be brought about in a number of ways. In some schools, the government of the school has been turned over to the students themselves, organized as a public body. They elect their officials, pass their rules and regulations, and enforce the latter through official action.

Going to a greater length, successful Boys' Republics have been organized in many places. They might take a form somewhat like the following: During summer vacation, sixty or eighty boys might group themselves together in a community. They might rent

the use of eight or ten acres of land somewhere near town. This land would be sublet to members of the community at a fixed price. Each landholder would then devote himself to the cultivation of such crops of vegetables as seem to promise the largest returns. The matters of common interest would be discussed and determined by a council of seven or nine members, while at the head of the community would stand the mayor. These officials would be elected by vote of all members. The community would further have a small volunteer police force for the purpose of maintaining order, and a judge for the decision of disputes. If either party desired, a jury of six would be empanelled to try the case. Other officers would be the city clerk, the treasurer, the commissioner of streets, and the water commissioner. Additional offices might become necessary, according to the special circumstances of the community. It might even be possible for a community of this kind to acquire the land upon which they do their work. They would form a corporation owning the land in common. In that case, they might appoint some older person, like a banker or teacher, their trustee, in whose name the property might be held, and who would advise with their officers in matters of business.

All such enterprises as the one here described will teach the student the meaning of coöperation in a commonwealth; that in public action we must adjust ourselves to the community in which we live; that we must assist it with our efforts and energies, but must not insist always upon carrying through our own

will. If the reasons which we give are heard and weighed by our associates, that is all we can desire. For training in common action, and in the ability to discuss and reason upon public questions, work of this kind would be invaluable.

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OREGON AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE — CAMPUS

SUPPLEMENT TO REINSCH'S CIVIL GOVERNMENT

FOR THE
STATE OF OREGON

BY
CHARLES A. RICE
ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS
PORTLAND, OREGON

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BENJ. H. SANBORN & CO.
CHICAGO NEW YORK BOSTON
1916

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

THE author of this Oregon supplement is indebted for valuable corrections and suggestions to Attorney ROSCOE P. HURST, and to F. V. HOLMAN and GEORGE H. HIMES of the Oregon Historical Society.

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CHAPTER I

THE OREGON COUNTRY

Origin of the Name. — The name Oregon was first used by Jonathan Carver, a native of Connecticut, in a book of travels which was published in 1778. In speaking of the River of the West, known to us as the Columbia, he calls it the "Oregon." No one knows where he obtained the name. A thorough investigation of the languages of the Indians visited by Carver shows that the word does not come from that source. It is probable that he misunderstood some name which the Indians gave him. Its use in connection with the River of the West was not common, and it was not known and used for a considerable time after Carver's book was published. Captain Gray had not heard of it when he gave the name of his ship, *Columbia*, to the great river, and the word is not found in the journal of Lewis and Clark written a quarter of a century after Carver first used it. As time

passed, however, the name came into general use as the name of the tract of country, without definite limits, lying west of the Rocky Mountains and north of California.

Captain Gray. — The Columbia River was discovered by Captain Robert Gray in May, 1792. He was an American navigator and ship captain from Boston in the employ of a firm of New England merchants, and made two voyages to the Pacific coast to trade with the Indians. He made his first voyage in 1790. On his second voyage after reaching the Oregon coast and sailing northward he encountered the waters of the Columbia, but did not enter the river. He passed the winter on Clayoquot Sound, and in the following spring returned with a determination to find the cause of the strong seaward current. On the 11th of May, 1792, he succeeded in crossing the bar and entered the river. After ten days, during which time he sailed twenty-five miles up the river, he again crossed the bar outward and sailed away to the north. Captain Gray made the home voyage on both trips by crossing the Pacific, thus circumnavigating the earth, — the first achievement of the kind by any American ship. His

explorations are of special interest: first, because he discovered and named the great river — The Columbia; and, second, by right of this discovery the United States claimed all the country drained by this river.

Purchase of Louisiana. — At the close of the French and Indian wars, when France was driven out of America, she ceded to Spain all of Louisiana west of the Mississippi River, including a large tract on the east bank, at the mouth of the river. In 1800 by a secret treaty Spain gave the province back to France. The secret came out about two years later and with it the news that Napoleon, ruler of France, was planning to send troops to hold the country. The settlers in the lower Mississippi valley knew that this would bring about a condition of affairs which would interfere with sending their produce out of the Mississippi River. This fact excited their rage and they demanded the instant seizure of New Orleans by American troops. To avoid this difficulty, President Jefferson obtained the consent of Congress to make an effort to buy New Orleans and the adjacent territory. At this time Napoleon was at war with England and needed money very much, and when

the offer was made, he agreed to take fifteen million dollars for the whole of Louisiana, about one million square miles. The transaction was completed and Louisiana became a part of the United States in December, 1803.

At this time very little was known of this vast and splendid domain. The boundaries on the north, west, and south were very indefinite. No one knew what the interior of the country was like. The source of the Mississippi was unknown. No one had come farther up the river than the point where Minneapolis now stands.

Lewis and Clark. — To explore the Columbia River and to get information about the country just acquired, President Jefferson persuaded Congress to vote a sum of money to send an exploring party from the mouth of the Missouri River to the Pacific. Meriwether Lewis and William Clark were placed at the head of the party. They left St. Louis in May, 1804, with forty-six followers on the trip, which took over two years. They followed the Missouri to its source, crossed to the Clear Water River, and went down this to the Columbia. They reached the mouth of the Columbia in November, 1805,

where they spent the following winter. The journey was beset with many hardships. There was much suffering because of hunger and fatigue, but the entire trip was made with the loss of but one man. The discovery of the river by Gray, the exploration of the country by Lewis and Clark, and its occupation by the Astor Party gave the United States a strong claim to the Oregon country. This claim was strengthened still more a little later when settlers and trappers crossed the Rocky Mountains and occupied the territory.

QUESTIONS

1. Explain the origin of the name Oregon.
2. Describe Captain Gray's explorations in the Northwest. Why are they of special interest and importance?
3. Relate the incidents leading up to the purchase of Louisiana. What was the extent of this territory? What caused Napoleon to accept such a small sum of money for this territory?
4. What was the purpose of the Lewis and Clark expedition?
5. What effect did the expedition have upon the title to the Oregon country?

CHAPTER II

SETTLEMENT AND EARLY HISTORY

Founding of Astoria. — In 1810 John Jacob Astor, a rich New York merchant, organized the Pacific Fur Company. Learning through Captain Cook's voyage about the possibilities of trade with the Indians he determined to send a party to the mouth of the Columbia River. They went by sea around Cape Horn. Sailing up the river, they anchored in April, 1811, and selected a site for their trading post, which they called Astoria. From this point they made trips into the interior to explore the country and to build up trade with the Indians. The colony met with the discouragements usual to a new country, but new life was added to the enterprise by the arrival, a few months later, of additional men and supplies. However, this prosperity was only temporary, for during the war of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain the post fell into the hands of the British and was renamed Fort George. By

treaties made in 1818 and 1827, the United States and Great Britain occupied the Oregon country jointly until 1846.

Dr. McLoughlin. — In 1824, having absorbed the Northwest Company, which had been in control, the Hudson Bay Company sent Dr. John McLoughlin out to manage its business. He was remarkable as an organizer and as a manager of men. He was very kind, but firm and resolute. He won the respect and admiration of all with whom he came in contact and convinced them of his ability to enforce his will. Under his able management the fur trade flourished as never before, and farming and stock raising were begun. The policy of the fur companies had been to discourage settlements and to keep the country a wilderness inhabited only by wild animals, the Indians, and traders. McLoughlin welcomed all travellers, explorers, and missionaries who came to his headquarters at Vancouver, giving them supplies to relieve their distress. He has been well called the "Father of the Oregon."

Other Pioneers. — As knowledge of the Oregon country spread among the people beyond the Rocky Mountains other men of adventure were

attracted to the Northwest. At this early date the chief attraction was the possibility of trading with the Indians. Very little attention or thought was given to the prospect of making the valleys of the Columbia and Willamette a land of farms. Among those who came were the missionaries, earnest and devout and filled with a zeal to spread the gospel among the Indians. Missions were established by Jason Lee in the Willamette Valley in 1834, by Marcus Whitman at Waiilatpu in 1836, and by Spaulding at Latwai. Lee was a man strong in body and voice, and in common-sense and the power to lead others. He chose as the site of his mission a spot on the east bank of the Willamette River, ten miles north of the present city of Salem. This may be called the first real American settlement in Oregon.

This colony was strengthened in the next few years by other persons from the east who joined them. The success met with in saving the Indians was not great, but the colony flourished. Much attention was given to farming and stock raising, a herd of six hundred and thirty cattle, brought from California, having been distributed among the settlers.

Provisional Government. — In January, 1839, Senator Linn of Missouri introduced a bill in Congress to establish a territorial government in Oregon. It failed to pass, but through the discussions held in connection with the bill much information in regard to Oregon and its wonderful resources was scattered broadcast, and this turned the attention of the country forcibly to Oregon. This attracted other immigrants.

This same year Jason Lee went east with a memorial to Congress, urging that the territorial government be established. It clearly set forth the need of an assured title to the land on which they might settle and of the protection of the United States government and laws. This continued agitation caused the government at Washington to send out an expedition under Lieutenant Charles Wilkes with instructions to make a careful investigation and report upon the country. He visited the settlers throughout the Willamette Valley and learned of their desire to form a provisional government to serve as the law of the land until the claims of the United States and Great Britain could be adjusted. He remained until October, 1841. He was convinced that a provisional government was not needed at this time.

In 1842 the government sent out Dr. Elijah White as Indian agent with instructions to act as a sort of magistrate among the whites. With him came one hundred twenty emigrants.

Champoeg. — The settlers still desired a more stable and formal government than White was able to offer, and called a mass meeting at Champoeg on May 2, 1843, to "take steps for the civil and military protection of the colony." When the committee appointed to draw up a form of government made its report, there was a difference of opinion as to its adoption, but when the vote was taken, it stood fifty-two for the provisional government and fifty against it. The adoption of the report was due in great measure to the efforts of Joe Meek, a resolute and stalwart mountain man whose courage in calling for a division when the vote was taken won the day. He was made sheriff in the election of officers which followed.

Before adjourning, a legislative committee was appointed to draft a code of laws and report to the people. The report of this committee, known as the "First Organic Law" of Oregon, was adopted at Champoeg on July 5, 1843. The code was revised the next year and several

changes made, tending to cure some of its defects.

Oregon Becomes a Territory. — A number of events happened within the next few years which resulted in the formation of Oregon Territory. There was a considerable increase in population, due to immigration from the east. In 1846, by a treaty with Great Britain, Oregon became definitely a part of the United States. An Indian uprising in 1847, resulting in the massacre of Dr. Whitman, who had established missions north of the Columbia River, and thirteen of his followers, confirmed Congress in its opinion that the Oregon settlers needed the protection of the laws of the Union. On August 14, 1848, Oregon was made a territory and General Joseph Lane of Indiana was appointed the first governor by President Polk. Oregon City was made the temporary capital.

Oregon Becomes a State. — In 1856 General Joseph Lane, territorial delegate in Congress, introduced a bill for the admission of Oregon into the Union as a state. The bill failed to pass, owing to the slavery dissensions. In June of the next year the territorial legislature submitted to the people the question of holding a

constitutional convention. The vote was favorable, and the convention, composed of sixty delegates chosen from the various counties, met at Salem in August, 1857. After deliberating four weeks a constitution was agreed upon which was submitted to the voters and ratified on November 9 of this year. The vote stood 7195 in favor of the constitution and 3205 against. It was approved by Congress, and Oregon was formally admitted into the Union February 14, 1859. At this time the population of the state was about 50,000.

This constitution, framed over a half century ago, is with some changes our present state constitution. Some sections have become obsolete because of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth amendments. It is very similar to other state constitutions.

QUESTIONS

1. What was the purpose of the first settlements in Oregon? What information led to the settlement of Astoria?
2. Estimate the value of the services of Dr. McLoughlin in the settlement of the Oregon country.
3. What was the purpose of Jason Lee's settlement and what was its success?

4. What is meant by provisional government? For what purpose was a provisional government established in Oregon? Tell about the meeting at Champoeg.

5. What events induced Congress to form the Territory of Oregon?

6. When did Oregon become a state?

CHAPTER III

THE OREGON SYSTEM

Constitutions Compared. — Although the constitutions of different states are very similar in their provisions, certain features may be found which are distinctive to some. In each the three departments of government are provided for — the legislative, the executive, and the judicial. The most important feature that distinguishes the Oregon constitution is: first, the provision which reserves to the people the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact them by vote of the people without regard to the Legislative Assembly; and, second, the provision which reserves to the people the power to approve or reject by vote, laws, with certain exceptions, passed by the Legislative Assembly. The first is called direct legislation, or the Initiative. The second is called the Referendum. The constitutions of the older states delegate large powers to the Legis-

lative Assemblies, who sometimes abuse these powers. To prevent this abuse and to bring the lawmaking department of our state government as close to the people as possible, these two provisions were enacted in our state constitution in 1902. The Oregon system encourages the development of each individual citizen. He must study the problems of government, in order that he may vote intelligently on the many measures submitted on the ballot.

The Initiative and Referendum. — Until 1902 the constitution of Oregon gave the lawmaking power to the Legislative Assembly, the only restriction being the veto of the Governor. At this time the Initiative and Referendum amendment was made to the constitution.

This clause, before being amended, read as follows:—“The legislative authority of the State shall be vested in the Legislative Assembly, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives. The style of every bill shall be, ‘Be it enacted by the Legislative Assembly of the State of Oregon,’ and no law shall be enacted except by bill.”

The amendment to the above clause, providing for the Initiative and Referendum, reads:—

T^fhe legislative authority of the State shall be vested in a Legislative Assembly, consisting of a Senate and House of Representatives, but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independent of the Legislative Assembly] and also reserve power at their own option, to approve or reject at the polls any act of the Legislative Assembly.] The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and not more than eight per cent of the legal voters shall be required to propose any measure by such petition, and every such petition shall include the full text of the measure so proposed. Initiative petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election at which they are to be voted upon. The second power is the referendum, and it may be ordered (except as to laws necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety) either by the petition signed by five per cent of the legal voters, or by the Legislative Assembly, as other bills are enacted. Referendum petitions shall be filed with the Secretary of State not more than ninety days after the

final adjournment of the session of the Legislative Assembly which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The veto power of the Governor shall not extend to measures referred to the people. All elections on measures referred to the people of the State shall be had at the biennial regular general elections except when the Legislative Assembly shall order a special election. Any measure referred to the people shall take effect and become a law when it is approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon, and not otherwise. The style of all bills shall be, 'Be it enacted by the people of the State of Oregon.' This section shall not be construed to deprive any member of the Legislative Assembly of the right to introduce any measure. The whole number of votes cast for Justice of the Supreme Court at the regular election last preceding the filing of any petition for the initiative or for the referendum shall be the basis on which the number of legal voters necessary to sign such petition shall be counted. Petitions and orders for the initiative and for the referendum shall be filed with the Secretary of State, and in submitting the same to the people he and all other officers shall be guided by the

general laws and the act submitting this amendment, until legislation shall be especially provided therefor."

A study of the above amendment shows that measures may be submitted to the voters in three different ways: under the Initiative; by the legislature; and under the Referendum upon legislative act. The people, under this act, can make laws and constitutional amendments independent of the legislature. On any measure passed upon by the people the Governor cannot exercise his veto power. In case a measure is submitted by any one of the three ways its fate is determined by a majority vote on the particular measure and not by a majority of the voters of the state. If the vote on the bill is favorable, it becomes a law at once. The bills are placed on the ballot in the order in which they were filed.

Voters have ample opportunity to inform themselves on all measures to be placed on the ballot. These measures receive publicity through being circulated for the signatures of eight per cent of the voters. They must be filed with the Secretary of State not less than four months before the election. After they are thus filed,

promoters and opponents of any measure may file arguments for or against it. It is the duty of the Secretary of State to have a copy of the text and title of all bills, with the arguments for and against, printed in a pamphlet. In this publicity pamphlet the title of the bill appears exactly as it will appear on the ballot. About two months before the election he must mail a copy of this pamphlet to every registered voter.

A study of the table, Appendix A, shows that a total of one hundred one measures have been submitted to a vote of the people in the five biennial elections following the adoption of the amendment. Of this number forty-two received a favorable vote and fifty-nine an unfavorable vote. In the total of one hundred one measures seventy-six were submitted under the Initiative; sixteen were submitted to the people by the legislature; and nine were submitted under the Referendum upon legislative act.

The initiative and referendum powers were further reserved to the people in 1906 in an amendment submitted under the initiative which extends the power to the voters as to local, special, and municipal legislation.

QUESTIONS

1. Name the three departments of government and tell what each does.

2. What is probably the most important feature that distinguishes the Oregon system of government?

3. Give the substance of the law that provides for the Initiative and Referendum.

4. What advantages has this plan of making laws over the plan of giving the lawmaking power entirely to the Legislative Assembly?

5. When was the Initiative and Referendum amendment made to the constitution? How many measures have been submitted to the people under this law?

6. In what three ways may measures be submitted to the people?

7. What means are taken to inform voters on the measures on which they are to vote?

CHAPTER IV

THE OREGON SYSTEM (*Continued*)

IN addition to the Initiative and Referendum provision there are several other features that distinguish the Oregon system, as the Recall, the Primary Law, and the Corrupt Practice Act.

The Recall. — By an act submitted under the Initiative at the election in 1908 the unfaithful and incompetent public office-holder in Oregon may be recalled by vote of the people during the term for which he is elected. This law probably has the effect of influencing those in office to be more careful to know the wishes of the voters in matters pertaining to their office. It is based on the principle that no individual has a personal right to public office, but that the office belongs to the people, and they are entitled to have it filled at all times by whomsoever they please. If the people desire to recall an official, a petition demanding his recall must be filed with the officer with whom a petition for nomination to such office should be filed. It should be signed

by twenty-five per cent of his constituents who voted at the preceding election for Justice of the Supreme Court. In this petition they must set forth the reasons for the demand. If the officer should resign within five days after the petition is filed, the resignation must be accepted and the vacancy filled in the usual manner of filling such vacancy. If he does not resign within this stated time, a special election must be ordered to be held within twenty days.

On the sample ballot there must be printed not more than two hundred words, giving the reasons for demanding the recall of the officer, as stated in the recall petition. On this same ballot the officer must be permitted not more than two hundred words to state his justification of his course while in office. He continues to perform the duties of the office until the result of the special election is officially declared. The names of other candidates may appear on the ballot to be voted on. The candidate who receives the highest number of votes is elected for the remainder of the term. The law provides that no recall petition can be filed against any officer until he has actually held his office six months, except that it may be filed against a state senator

or representative five days after the legislature meets. A second recall petition cannot be filed or a second special recall election cannot be called during the term for which any officer is elected unless the petitioners first meet all the expenses of the first special election.

Direct Primary Law. — One of the first laws to be passed by the people under the Initiative and Referendum amendment was the Direct Primary Law submitted in 1904. Heretofore political parties had nominated their candidates by conventions. The convention plan usually develops the political boss and encourages the organization of the political machine. The Primary Law is based on the principle that to nominate is as important as to elect. Under this law every voter has an opportunity to have a voice in the selection of candidates.

Important facts in connection with the Primary Law are:—

All political parties that polled at least twenty-five per cent of the entire vote of the state at the last preceding election are required to nominate their candidates by the direct primary method. Other parties may nominate their candidates in any manner they choose.

Names are placed on the ballot by petition.

The petition must be signed by two per cent of the voters of the party in the state in case of a candidate for a state office, or two per cent of the voters of the party in the district, county, or city in case of a candidate for a district, county, or city office.

The basis for estimating the percentage of voters required is the vote for Congressman at the next preceding general election.

The voters signing the petition must be distributed over the city, county, district, or state in a manner named in the law.

Petitions for nomination to certain offices must be filed not less than twenty days before the date of the primary election ; in case of other offices, not less than fifteen days before the election.

The time for holding the primary election is the third Friday in May of even-numbered years.

The polls open at twelve o'clock noon and close at seven o'clock.

The primary election is conducted by the regular election officers — judges and clerks — and the voting places are the regular voting places of the state.

Each party has its own ballots, those of each party being different in color.

The names of the candidates for any office are printed in alphabetical order. If the number exceeds *five*, they rotate in order, giving each candidate the advantage of having his name appear first in the list.

Each candidate is allowed to express after his name on the ballot the measures he especially advocates, using not more than twelve words.

The candidate who receives the highest vote is nominated for the office. In case of a tie, the two candidates cast lots.

The qualifications for voting at a primary election are the same as for voting at a regular election. (See p. 31, Chap. V.)

Election of United States Senators. — The Constitution of the United States originally provided for the election of United States Senators by the state legislatures. (See p. 198.) This often resulted in deadlocks and sometimes in bribery. Oregon was one of the first states to formulate a plan which took the matter out of the hands of the legislature and prevented this kind of politics. The Direct Primary Law contains a provision providing that candidates for

state senator and representative take a pledge known as Statement No. 1, in which they agree to vote for the candidate for United States Senator who receives the highest vote of the people for that office. Under this provision the people of Oregon have indirectly elected their United States Senators.

For over a half century there have been proposals to change the national Constitution so as to provide for the election of Senators by the people. In 1911 the Senate was finally induced to pass a resolution giving its consent to the change. The proposed amendment required the favorable vote of thirty-six states to become effective. On April 8, 1913, the legislature of Connecticut ratified the amendment, making the thirty-sixth state. As the seventeenth amendment it is now a part of the Constitution.

Corrupt Practice Act. — In 1908 an act known as the Corrupt Practice Act was submitted to the vote of the people under the Initiative. One of the chief provisions of this law is the regulation of expenditures of candidates running for office. A candidate for office in Oregon is subjected to the expense of two elections — the primary and the general election. This worked to the dis-

advantage of the poor man. The law provides that the expenditures of the candidate shall be limited to fifteen per cent of the yearly salary of the office to which he aspires, but in no case to less than one hundred dollars. Each candidate is required to make a sworn statement of his expenditures within fifteen days after the election.

By the provisions of this law it is unlawful on election day for any person to attempt to influence the vote of any one at the polls or away from them; to hire vehicles to haul voters to and from the polls; to wear any political badge or insignia at the polls; to pay any one for loss or damage due to attendance at the polls; to furnish liquor, cigars, or tobacco to any person to influence his vote; to make any wager on the result of the election; for any candidate to promise any person an appointment to office in case he is elected; for any newspaper to publish any paid matter concerning a candidate or measure unless it is stated therein that it is a paid advertisement.

The bill provides that each candidate be given space in the publicity pamphlet sent out to the voters before election day, in which he may publish his photograph and platform. The state

bears most of the expense of this pamphlet, the charge to the candidate being nominal. The bill has proved to be one of the best passed by the people of Oregon. It has made election day one of the most quiet and orderly days of the year.

QUESTIONS

- ✓ 1. What is meant by the Recall? Upon what principle is it based? State any arguments for or against it that you think of.
2. Give the steps necessary to invoke the Recall.
3. Describe the sample ballot.
4. What restrictions are named in the law against the Recall?
- ✓ 5. For what does the Direct Primary Law provide? Can you think of any advantage of this method of nominating candidates over the convention plan?
6. Explain how candidates get their names on the ballot. Describe the arrangement of names on the ballot.
7. Give the time of holding the Primary election and the hours for opening and closing the polls.
8. What is meant by Statement No. 1?
9. For what does the seventeenth amendment to the national Constitution provide? When was it made? Why was this change desirable?
- ✓ 10. For what does the Corrupt Practice Act provide? What has been its effect upon the management of elections?

CHAPTER V

THE GENERAL ELECTION

Time. — The regular election for congressional, state, and county officers and for presidential electors is held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November of even-numbered years, every two or four years, depending on the length of the term of office. The polls open at eight o'clock in the forenoon and close at eight o'clock in the evening. The judges of election, at their discretion, may adjourn the polls at one o'clock P.M. for one hour.

Place. — In July preceding the general election it is the duty of each county court to divide the county into election precincts. These precincts are designated by numbers, and there are to be as many of them as necessity or convenience may require. The maximum number of voters in any precinct is limited to three hundred. There is one polling place in each precinct, designated by the county court. For county officers voters

must vote in the election precinct where they reside ; for state officers they may vote in any county in the state ; and for Members of Congress they may vote in any county of the Congressional District in which they reside.

Election Officers. — It is the duty of each county court in January preceding a general election, to appoint three judges and three clerks of election for each precinct, and to designate one judge as chairman. Their term of office is two years. No more than two judges and two clerks can be members of the same political party. All six of these officers must be qualified voters in the precinct and must be able to read, write, and speak the English language. In all precincts in which one hundred and fifty or more ballots were cast at the last general election a second board of three judges and three clerks is appointed, which meets at the polling place at eight o'clock P.M. on election days to relieve the first board and count the ballots. These two boards take turns in counting the votes until the count is completed, each serving twelve hours continuously.

Ballots. — (See p. 17.)¹ The ballots used in

¹ These pages refer to Reinsch's Civil Government.

the elections are furnished by the county clerk in each county. There are two kinds — official and sample ballots. The former are of white paper, and the latter of cheaper, colored paper. The latter are used only for the information and convenience of voters. The names of candidates are arranged alphabetically, according to surnames, except that the names of candidates for presidential electors and state senators and representatives are arranged in groups according to party. Blank spaces are left below the names of candidates for each office for writing in the names of any candidates not on the ballot. In Oregon the Australian ballot is used. (See p. 16.)¹ The secret process of voting (see p. 19)¹ guards against mistakes and dishonesty in elections.

Voters. — Each state makes its own laws naming the qualifications which voters must have. These laws, however, must not conflict with the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which states that the right to vote must not be denied to any person “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.” In Oregon every citizen of the United States, male or female, twenty-one years of age and over, who has resided in the State

six months, immediately preceding the election, is entitled to vote; also any person of foreign birth, twenty-one years of age and over, who has resided in the United States one year and in the state six months immediately preceding the election, and who has declared his or her intention to become a citizen of the United States one year preceding the election.

Since the enactment of the amendment to the constitution in November, 1912, granting woman suffrage, the Attorney-General has ruled that an alien woman may vote if her alien husband has taken out his declaration to become a citizen, and that an alien woman may not take out a citizenship declaration in order to vote if the husband has not done so.

Registration. — The County Clerk is required by law to register any qualified voter who may request to be registered at any time, except that he shall refuse to register any voter during thirty days next preceding any general or primary election, or fifteen days next preceding any special election. A voter who is not registered is not entitled to vote. This registration law is new and has not been passed upon by the Supreme Court. In case it is declared invalid, the voter

may register with the judges upon election day on his own affidavit and that of six freeholders that they are personally acquainted with the voter and his qualifications as a voter.

QUESTIONS

1. Give the time of holding the general election. What are the hours for opening and closing the polls?

2. What is an election precinct and by whom are precincts formed? What is the maximum number of voters in any precinct?

3. What officers conduct the election in any precinct and by whom are they appointed? What are their qualifications?

4. Describe the official ballot. What is the purpose of the sample ballot? What is meant by the Australian ballot?

5. Who are entitled to vote in Oregon? What is necessary for a foreigner to do before he may vote? If a man who is a foreigner neglects to qualify as a voter, can his wife vote?

6. What amendment made to the constitution of Oregon in 1912 doubled the number of voters in Oregon?

7. Learn the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.

8. What is meant by registration of voters?

9. May a voter who is not registered cast his ballot?

CHAPTER VI

GOVERNMENT IN OREGON

LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

THE Legislative Assembly in Oregon consists of two houses, a Senate and a House of Representatives. It is the law making department of the state government. (See p. 140.)

The Senate. — The State Senate is composed of thirty members elected for a term of four years. They are divided into two equal classes, one-half being elected every two years. Each senator is elected by the voters in the district which he represents. (See Appendix C.) A state senator must be at least twenty-one years old, a citizen of the United States, and an inhabitant of his senatorial district one year next preceding his election. The Senate elects its own officers, the presiding officer being called the President of the Senate. He appoints the standing committees of the Senate.

House of Representatives. — The number of members in the House of Representatives is sixty, elected for a term of two years. The term of office of all expires at the same time. Each representative is elected by the voters in the



STATE CAPITOL AND POST-OFFICE, SALEM, OREGON.

district which he represents. (See Appendix C.) The qualifications are the same as for state senator. The House of Representatives chooses its own officers, the presiding officer being called the Speaker of the House. He appoints the standing committees of the House.

Sessions. — The Legislative Assembly meets every two years, commencing on the second

Monday in January of odd-numbered years. As compensation for their services the members receive three dollars a day, and mileage, for a period not to exceed forty days. If the session lasts more than forty days, members must serve without pay for this overtime. They receive the same compensation per day for extra sessions for a period of not more than twenty days. Special sessions may be called by the Governor. The presiding officers receive five dollars a day.

The sessions are held in the Capitol building at Salem. The room in which the Senate meets is called the Senate Chamber; that in which the House meets is called the House of Representatives.

A law made by the Legislature goes into effect ninety days after the adjournment of the Legislature unless the "Emergency Clause" is attached, in which case it goes into effect at once.

Tax Bills. — The Constitution of Oregon provides that bills may originate in either House, but may be amended or rejected in the other, except that all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives. The Senate, however, may propose amendments to such bills. Bills to appropriate money from the

Treasury of the State may originate in either house.

Members Ineligible to Other Offices. — A member of the Legislature cannot accept any office the election to which is given by the Legislative Assembly; nor can he be appointed to any office of profit which may have been created or the pay of which has been increased during his term of office. However, he can accept such position if the people elect him.

Oath of Office. — Before entering upon the duties of the office, a member of the Legislature takes the following oath: —

“ I do solemnly swear (or affirm, as the case may be) that I will support the Constitution of the United States, and the Constitution of the State of Oregon, and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of Senator (or Representative, as the case may be), according to the best of my ability.”

This oath may be administered by the Governor, Secretary of State, or Judge of the Supreme Court.

Veto. — In addition to his duties as the chief executive officer of the state the Governor has a part in the law-making department. He signs

or vetoes bills passed by the Legislature. However, the Governor cannot veto any bill which the Legislature refers to the people.

Record of Proceedings. — Each House keeps a journal of its proceedings. When any two members request it the yeas and nays on any question must be entered on the journal, together with the names of the members making such request.

Quorum. — A quorum is the number of members of any body necessary to transact business. Without a quorum any business transacted is not legal. In both the Senate and House of Representatives two-thirds of the members constitute a quorum, but a smaller number may meet, adjourn from day to day, and compel the attendance of absent members.

Amendments to the Constitution. — Amendments to the Constitution of Oregon may be proposed by a majority of all the members elected to each House. The Secretary of State then refers the amendment to the people for their approval or rejection at the next general election, or at a special election which the Legislative Assembly may call for that purpose. If it receives a majority of those voting on the amend-

ment it becomes a part of the Constitution upon the proclamation of the Governor. An amendment may be submitted to the people under the Initiative by petition. (See Initiative Amendment, p. 15.) A convention may be called to propose amendments, provided that the act calling the convention is first approved by the people on a referendum vote at a regular general election.

QUESTIONS

1. Name the two houses that compose the Legislative Assembly.

2. Of how many members is the Senate composed? For what term are they elected? What are the qualifications of a state senator? Who presides over the Senate?

3. Of how many members is the House of Representatives composed? For what term are they elected? What are the qualifications of a state representative? Who presides over the House?

4. How often does the Legislative Assembly meet? How many special sessions be called? What compensation do the members receive?

5. When does a law passed by the legislature go into effect? What is meant by the Emergency Clause?

6. In which house must all bills for raising revenue originate? Can you think of any reason for this?

7. What restriction is placed upon the privilege

of a member of the legislature to hold other offices? Give a reason for this.

8. What oath does a member of a legislature take? What is a veto?

9. What is meant by a quorum? How many members constitute a quorum in each house?

10. How may amendments to the State Constitution be made?

CHAPTER VII

THE EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

THE executive, including the administrative, department of our state government carries out the laws of the state and has charge of the finances. The chief officers in this department are the Governor, Secretary of State, Treasurer, Attorney-General, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Printer, and Dairy and Food Commissioner.

The Governor. — The term of office of the Governor is four years, and no person shall be eligible to serve as Governor for more than eight in any period of twelve years. He is elected by the voters of the state. To be eligible to the office of Governor a person must be a citizen of the United States, at least thirty years of age, and must have been a resident of the State three years next preceding his election. If for any reason the office of Governor during a term becomes

vacant, the duties of the office devolve on the Secretary of State. The President of the Senate is third in line of succession.

The chief duty of the Governor is to see that the laws of the state are faithfully executed. If necessary to accomplish this, — as commander-in-chief of the military and naval forces of the state, — he may call out these forces to suppress insurrection. The Governor has power to grant reprieves, commutations, and pardons to those found guilty of any offence except treason; to sign or veto bills passed by the legislature; and to call extra sessions of the Legislative Assembly if the occasion demands.

Secretary of State. — The Secretary of State keeps a record of the official acts of the Legislative Assembly and the Executive Department of the State. He is the auditor of public accounts, keeps “The Seal of the State of Oregon,” which he affixes to all State documents, and succeeds to the position of Governor if that office becomes vacant.

State Treasurer. — The State Treasurer is the custodian of the funds of the state. These funds he keeps on deposit in various banks and pays them out as directed by law.

Attorney-General. — The Attorney-General is the legal adviser of the heads of departments, and is the attorney for the state in all lawsuits which the state has. Quite often he is asked for an opinion on points of law by citizens of the state.

Superintendent of Public Instruction. — The Superintendent of Public Instruction has general supervision of the educational affairs of the state. Among his numerous duties are the following: to act as secretary of the State Board of Education; to supervise county and district school officers; to decide points of school law; to prepare a course of study for the schools of the state; to make a report to the Legislative Assembly every two years; and to attend county and state teachers' meetings.

State Printer. — The State Printer has charge of the state's printing and binding. His printing office is located in the Capitol building at Salem.

Dairy and Food Commissioner. — The Dairy and Food Commissioner has general supervision of the dairy industry of the state. He is authorized to enforce the laws that require cleanliness and sanitary conditions and those that require

all foods to be honestly labelled and free from adulterations. It is his duty to inspect the manufacture, display, and sale of all food products.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the function of the executive department of our state government?
2. Name the chief officers in this department.
3. What is the term of office and qualifications of the Governor? Name his chief duties.
4. What are the duties of the Secretary of State, Treasurer, Attorney-General, Superintendent of Public Instruction, State Printer, and Dairy and Food Commissioner?

CHAPTER VIII

THE JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

THE Judicial Department of our state government consists of a system of courts to decide questions that constantly arise as to the meaning of the law, or how it applies to particular cases. Sometimes laws apparently conflict with one another, or are not in accord with the Constitution. Laws are often broken, because of ignorance or with intention. In cases of this kind the court acts the part of an umpire and decides the disputes.

When a court under the law has authority to hear and decide a particular case it is said to have jurisdiction in that case. A court has original jurisdiction in any case when suit may be begun in that court. A court has appellate jurisdiction in a case when an appeal may be taken to that court from a lower court in which it has been heard.

The judicial power in Oregon is vested in a

Supreme Court, Circuit Courts, and County Courts. The Constitution provides that, in addition to these courts, justices of the peace may be given limited judicial powers and that municipal courts may be created to administer the laws of incorporated towns and cities. The jurisdiction of each of these courts is defined by law.

The Justice Court. — The County Court lays out the county into districts, including a certain number of election precincts. Justices of the Peace have jurisdiction over these districts and hold Justice Court. A Justice of the Peace is elected for a term of two years. Both civil and criminal cases come within his jurisdiction, the former being those of a minor nature and the latter those in which the amount involved does not exceed two hundred fifty dollars. When crimes of a more serious nature are committed the Justice of the Peace may make inquiry and place the prisoner under bond or commit him to jail until the grand jury makes an investigation.

In cities having a population of 100,000 or over a District Court, presided over by three District Judges, is organized to take the place of the Justice Court. This court has the same juris-

diction in criminal cases as the Justice Court and in certain civil cases where the amount involved does not exceed three hundred dollars.

Municipal Courts. — The judicial department of a city government is vested in a Municipal Court. It has jurisdiction over all offences as defined by the city ordinances.

County Courts. — The County Court consists of the County Judge and two County Commissioners. The County Judge presides over the County Court. This court has jurisdiction in probate matters within the county; settles the estates of deceased persons; appoints administrators and executors and sees that the property is distributed to the heirs in accordance with the law. If there are minor heirs it appoints guardians for them. It is its duty to examine all cases of insanity and when necessary to commit the patient to the asylum. This court also transacts all the business of the county.

The office of County Judge in Multnomah County was abolished by the Legislature in 1913 and the incumbent of the office was made a Circuit Judge. As Circuit Judge he has charge of judicial matters usually referred to a County Judge. The legislature also provided for the

office of a third County Commissioner to form with the other two commissioners the Board of County Commissioners of Multnomah County. This Board transacts the county business.

County Attorneys. — A law passed by the legislature in 1913 provides that each county in the state elect a County Attorney, to serve for a period of four years. In the larger counties one or more deputies are provided for. It is the duty of the County Attorney to act as attorney for the prosecution in cases before the court. Under the old law these duties were performed by the District Attorney.

(The law creating the office of County Attorney had not gone into effect when this was written and there is a probability that the referendum may be invoked on it.)

Circuit Courts. — The State of Oregon is divided into thirteen Circuit Court districts. Each district is presided over by one or more Circuit Judges. Appendix B shows the counties included in each district and the number of judges in each. The term of office of a Circuit Judge is six years. The Circuit Courts have jurisdiction in all civil and criminal cases, and hear cases which have been appealed from lower

courts. Cases which have been tried in the Circuit Courts may be appealed to the Supreme Court of the state for a rehearing.

Supreme Court. — There are seven Judges of the Supreme Court, elected for a period of six years by the voters of the state. The Supreme Court hears only those cases that have been appealed from the Circuit Courts and cases wherein it is sought to disbar attorneys from the practice of law.

There are two terms of the Supreme Court held annually at Salem, commencing on the first Monday in March and the first Monday in October of each year; and two terms at Pendleton, commencing on the first Monday in May and the first Monday in November of each year. Sessions at each place may be held at such other times as the Court may appoint. The Supreme Court is practically in session throughout the year.

Grand Jury. — A Grand Jury consists of seven men selected from a list known as the jury list. This jury list contains several hundred names selected by the County Court from the assessment roll. The Grand Jury investigates all charges brought to its notice against persons for

crimes committed. It hears evidence against accused persons, but not for them. If the evidence seems sufficient for believing the person guilty of a crime, it makes a written statement, naming the person, describing his crime, and advising that he be brought to trial. This written statement is called an indictment, or a "true bill," and the person is said to be indicted by the Grand Jury. If upon investigation the Grand Jury finds that no crime has been committed by the person charged, they must return a "not true bill."

Petit Jury. — A Petit Jury consists of twelve men chosen by lot from the list of Petit Jurors. These twelve sit in open court and hear the evidence in behalf of and against the defendant, together with the arguments of the attorneys on both sides. The presiding judge then instructs the jury as to the law which applies in the case and the manner in which the evidence should be weighed. The jury retires to the jury room, in charge of an officer, and agrees upon a verdict, if possible. This verdict must be unanimous in criminal cases, but in cases where property rights or money matters are involved nine jurors may return a verdict.

The judge sentences the prisoner to such punishment as the law fixes. If it is the unanimous decision of the jury that the prisoner is innocent, a verdict of not guilty is brought in, and the judge discharges him. If the members of the jury are divided in their opinion as to the guilt of the prisoner, the case is tried over again before a new jury. Great care is exercised by the attorneys on both sides of the case in the selection of members of the Petit Jury. Each side has the right to reject a certain number of jurors on the list after questioning them.

QUESTIONS

1. What is the function of the Judicial Department of our state government?
2. What is meant by jurisdiction? Original jurisdiction? Appellate jurisdiction?
3. Name the different courts in Oregon.
4. In what cases does a Justice Court have jurisdiction?
5. What officers compose the County Court? In what cases does a County Judge have jurisdiction?
6. In what cases does the Circuit Court have jurisdiction? How many Circuit Court districts are there in Oregon?
7. What kind of jurisdiction has the Supreme Court of the state? How often does the Supreme

Court meet? Of how many members is it composed?

8. What is a Grand Jury and what is its function?
What is an indictment?

9. What is a Petit Jury and what is its function?
What is a verdict?

CHAPTER IX

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

THE COUNTY

A COUNTY is a political division of a state made to assist in local government. The State of Oregon is divided into thirty-four counties. These counties differ greatly in size and population. (Appendix F.) A new county may be formed, provided that it contains an area of four hundred square miles and a population of at least twelve hundred inhabitants, and that the area of no county is thereby reduced to an area of less than four hundred square miles.

It would not be practicable for the state to manage the public affairs of each community. The county is the local agent of the state government.

The County Seat. — The county seat is the town or city where the official business of the

county is transacted. Here the court-house and other public buildings are located and the county officers reside during their terms of office. The



MARION COUNTY COURT-HOUSE, SALEM,
OREGON.

County Court holds its sessions at the county seat.

The County Officers.— The officers of a county are a County Judge, two Commissioners, Sheriff, Clerk, Treasurer, Auditor, Assessor, School Superintendent, Coroner, and Surveyor. Some counties have

a County Recorder, but the Clerk performs the duties of this office in most of the counties. All county officers hold office for either two or four years.

County Judge and Commissioners.— These

officers compose the County Court. The County Court levies the county tax, fixing the number of mills of tax the taxpayers must pay on each dollar of the assessed valuation of their property. It also passes on bills against the county and appropriates money for the care of the poor, for roads, bridges, public buildings, and other public improvements. In some counties by act of the Legislative Assembly the County Court is constituted a separate body. Where this is the case, the County Judge has charge of probate matters, and the County Commissioners look after the county business.

The Sheriff. — The Sheriff is the chief executive officer of the county. He sees that the laws are enforced, prevents disorder and riots, and executes the orders of the court. He may swear in deputies, or call on the Governor for troops to assist him in preserving the peace. He has charge of prisoners, notifies those drawn for jury duty, and collects the taxes. This money he turns over to the County Treasurer. He serves papers in civil cases and executes, generally, all processes issued by the Circuit Courts.

The Clerk. — The County Clerk keeps a

record of the business of the Probate Court, the County Court, and the Circuit Court. He records conveyances — deeds, mortgages, and liens — unless the county has a Recorder. He issues licenses of all kinds authorized by law. With the Justices of the Peace he canvasses the vote after elections and records the “official count.”

The Treasurer. — The chief duty of the County Treasurer is to receive and pay out the money of the county. He must keep a careful record of his business and is required to give a large bond for the faithful discharge of his duties. In counties of fifty thousand inhabitants and over he must report monthly to the County Auditor the conditions of the Treasury.

The Auditor. — A County Auditor is elected in counties which have fifty thousand inhabitants or over. He audits all bills against the county and, if correct, sends them to the County Court, where their payment is authorized. The Auditor receives the pay-rolls from the various county officers at the end of each month and audits the monthly statements of the County Treasurer.

The Assessor. — The County Assessor makes

every year a list of all the taxable property in the county and places a value on each piece. This assessment roll is open for examination by property owners who may make complaint to the Equalization Board if they believe their property has been assessed too high. This Board is composed of the County Judge, County Clerk, and County Assessor. This Board has the power to lower the assessment on any property if they are convinced that it is too high.

School Superintendent. — The County School Superintendent has general supervision of the schools of the county. His duties are to apportion the state and county school funds among the school districts of the county ; to visit the schools in his county at least once in each year ; to hold local and county institutes for teachers ; to advise and consult with school boards in the building of schoolhouses ; and to make an annual report to the Superintendent of Public Instruction.

The Coroner. — The County Coroner investigates the cause of the death of any person who dies a sudden or mysterious death. For this inquiry he calls a jury of six persons called the Coroner's Jury. After hearing the evidence, they render a verdict in writing, fixing the blame when

it is possible. He serves the papers on the Sheriff in case suit is brought against this officer.

The Surveyor. — The County Surveyor is the legal surveyor in locating roads and boundary lines in the county. It is his duty to locate corners and lines when requested by any one to do so.

QUESTIONS

1. What is a county? How many counties are there in Oregon? Under what conditions can a new county be formed?

2. What part does the county take in the matter of government?

3. What is meant by the county seat?

4. Name the county officers.

5. What officers compose the County Court?
What are the duties of the County Court?

6. What are the two chief duties of the sheriff?

7. Enumerate the duties of the other county officers.

CHAPTER X

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

CITIES

It is often stated that in America the government of cities has been less successful than that of our nation, our state, or our rural communities. This is due in part to the fact that it is a problem comparatively new. A century ago there was not a city in the United States with a population of 50,000 people, and not over a dozen towns that could be ranked as cities. In 1910 we had two hundred and thirty-two cities with a population of over 25,000. At the time of the first census, 1790, only three per cent of our population lived in cities; now the per cent is over thirty.

This rapid growth of cities has forced the subject of their government upon us before we have evolved methods of government fully prepared to deal with it. A rapidly growing city

requires the expenditure of considerable money in improvements. To meet this expense it is necessary to bond the city or to levy heavy taxes. Often the city officials lack foresight as to the future needs and growth of the city, and improvements have proved to be only temporary. In a few years a greater outlay of money is needed to make improvements on an enlarged and permanent scale.

Wherever people are crowded together there is more need of regulations and officers to enforce these regulations. Sanitary conditions must be enforced strictly by the board of health in a city. The supply of water must be given constant attention. The police department must be thoroughly drilled and supervised. The fire department must be equipped and trained for service. The city streets must be kept clean and well lighted. The finances must be managed carefully and economically if the taxpayers are to get full value for their money. A well-organized and well-managed business system is needed to manage all of these matters. This should be provided for in any city by the charter, which is the fundamental law of the city.

There are certain fundamental principles which,

it is generally conceded, should be recognized in a plan of local government. In the executive department provision should be made for fixing responsibility. It is more likely that the laws will be enforced if authority is centralized than if it is divided. In the former case it is much easier to apply a remedy.

To secure the most efficient service city employees should be placed under civil service rules. Merit, not politics, should be the only consideration in employing or retaining those in the service.

The use of the streets of a city is valuable to public service corporations for street railways, telephone lines, electric-light wires, or gas pipes. In making a city charter care should be taken to regulate the power to grant franchises, so that the interests of the people may be safeguarded. The city should receive pay for these franchises, and this pay should increase as the city grows and the streets become more valuable for such use.

PORTLAND

Commission Form of Government. — At an election held on May 3, 1913, a commission charter was adopted by the voters of Portland.

Under this charter the number of elective offices is reduced to six — a Mayor, four Commissioners, and an Auditor. The salary of the Mayor is \$6000 a year, of the Commissioners \$5000 a year each, and of the Auditor \$3600 a year. The term of office of each is four years.



CITY HALL, PORTLAND.

Departments. — The charter provides that five departments shall have charge of the affairs in the government of the city, as follows: —

- (a) Department of Public Affairs.
- (b) Department of Finance.
- (c) Department of Public Safety.

(d) Department of Public Utilities.

(e) Department of Public Improvements.

The head of each department names the subordinates under his jurisdiction not under civil service.

This charter gives considerable power to the Mayor. He selects one department for himself and assigns the four Commissioners to the other departments. He may shift the commissioners from one department to another from time to time if he thinks they can do better work in some other department. The Mayor and Commissioners enact the laws for the city and execute them.

The Council. — The Mayor and the four Commissioners compose the Council. The Council holds one regular legislative meeting each week and such other meetings as it may prescribe. All of these meetings must be public. At any meeting three members constitute a quorum. The Council elects a president, who performs the duties of Mayor and presides over any meeting in the absence or disability of the Mayor.

Appointive Officers. — Under the provisions of the charter five officers are appointed by the Council. These are Treasurer, City Engineer,

City Attorney, Municipal Judge, and Purchasing Agent. They serve during the pleasure of the Council and may be removed for cause at any time by a majority vote of the Council. The Council fixes their salaries and fills any vacancies that occur in such offices.

Elections. — The municipal election is held on the first Monday in June of odd-numbered years. At each election two Commissioners are elected. The terms of office of the Mayor and Auditor do not expire at the same time. Thus three officers are elected at each biennial election. They assume office the first day of July after election.

The manner of nomination of these officers is by petition. The petition for the nomination of each candidate must consist of not less than one hundred individual certificates, each signed by a registered voter. These certificates must be filed with the auditor not earlier than forty days and not later than twenty days before the election. The names of candidates for any office are placed on the ballot in the order in which their nominating petitions are filed.

The Preferential System of Voting. — This system provides that each voter shall have the

right to express first, second, and third choice for any office when the number of candidates is more than three times the number of offices to be filled. He votes for as many first-choice candidates as there are offices to be filled, as many second-choice candidates as there are offices to be filled, and as many third-choice candidates as there are offices to be filled. A candidate who receives a majority of the first-choice votes is elected. If no candidate receives such majority, the second-choice votes are added to the first-choice votes. If this does not give a majority to any candidate, the third-choice votes are added, and the candidate receiving the highest total of first, second, and third choice votes is elected.

QUESTIONS

1. Why is the government of cities a difficult task?
2. What are some of the problems that confront the officers of a city government?
3. Explain the commission form of government.
4. Name the elective officers provided for in the Portland charter. Name the appointive officers.
5. What are some of the duties of the Mayor? Of the Council?
6. Name the five departments.
7. Explain the preferential system of voting.

CHAPTER XI

PUBLIC EDUCATION

THE duty of educating the youth of the state falls upon the state and local governments. The matter is largely in the hands of the latter. One of our foundation ideas is that our freedom and the perpetuation of our free institutions depend upon widespread information and intelligence. Upon the education of a people rest their prosperity and happiness. Education makes them self-reliant, substantial, and productive.

School Lands. — When the survey of a territory is made, it is divided into townships, six miles square. A township contains 36 sections of six hundred forty acres each. In Oregon Sections 16 and 36 in each township were set aside by act of Congress for the support of the schools of the state. The State Land Board, composed of the Governor, Secretary of State, and State Treasurer, have authority to sell these lands.

In Oregon the state school lands were, for the most part, sold early and at a price much below their present value. The longer the school lands in a state are held, the greater is their value and the larger the permanent school fund



JEFFERSON HIGH SCHOOL BUILDING, PORTLAND.

will be. When once they are sold, this fund does not become much larger, and as the population increases a greater proportion of the school fund must be raised by taxation.

The Constitution of Oregon provides that the proceeds of the sale of these school lands and all money accruing to the state as gifts, bequests,

or forfeitures must be set apart as a separate school fund, known as the Common School Fund. This fund itself cannot be spent. The interest is to be used exclusively in the support of the schools of the state, and is distributed among the counties of the state in proportion to the number of children residing therein between the ages of four and twenty years. The taxes which go to help support the schools of the state come from two chief sources — the county tax levied annually by the county court, and the special district tax levied by the voters of the school district.

School Districts. — For school purposes each county is divided into school districts by the District Boundary Board, which is composed of the County Judge, County Commissioners, and County School Superintendent. School districts are divided into three classes, depending on the number of children of school age in the district. A district with one thousand or more children of school age is a district of the first class; between two hundred and one thousand children of school age, a district of the second class; and less than two hundred children of school age, a district of the third class. In each district a

board elected by the people has charge of the schools in the district. In districts of the first class this board is composed of five members. In districts of the second and third class three members constitute the board.

The State Board of Education. — The State Board of Education consists of three members — the Governor, Secretary of State, and Superintendent of Public Instruction. The chief duties of this board are: to prepare a state course of study; to appoint a state board of examiners; to issue teachers' certificates; to authorize the use of text-books adopted by the State Text-book Commission; and to act as ex-officio members of the boards of many of the state institutions.

Text-books. — Oregon has a text-book law that provides for uniform text-books throughout the state. Text-books are a very necessary and important part of the public school equipment. It is just as important to have good books as to have good teachers. The state law provides for a Text-book Commission of five members to be appointed by the Governor. Every six years this Commission adopts the books to be used in the elementary and high schools of the state for

the following six years. A law passed by the legislature in 1913 enables cities having 20,000 or more children of school age to adopt their own text-books.

Compulsory Education Law. — By means of taxation the state provides free schools for the children of the state. It goes still farther and compels them to attend school. Quite often the parents fail to realize the importance of an education or they wish their children to work to earn money. The state law requires that any child between and including the ages of nine and fifteen years, and any child between fifteen and sixteen years of age not regularly and lawfully engaged in useful employment, must attend school every day that school is in session in the district in which the parent or guardian lives. An officer whose duty it is to enforce this law is called a Truant Officer.

Elementary Schools. — The elementary schools are the common schools below high school grade. Every district in the state is required by law to maintain an elementary school for at least six months during the year.

High Schools. — Above the elementary schools are the public high schools. These are classified

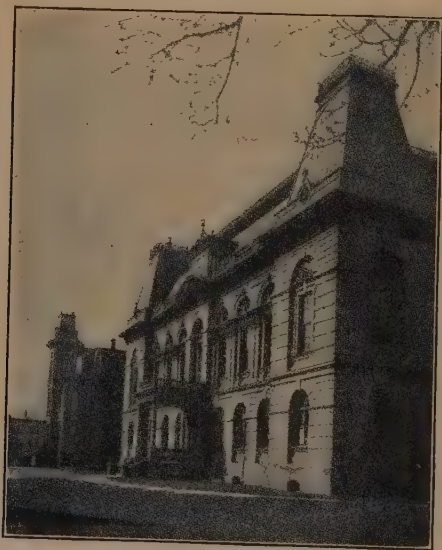
as follows: schools teaching grades above the eighth; district high schools; union high schools; and county high schools. There has been a wonderful growth in Oregon in the last decade, both in the number of high schools and in their enrolment. In 1900 the number of four-year high schools in the state was thirteen. In 1912 the number was one hundred and thirty, with an enrolment of nearly twelve thousand pupils.

Institutions of Higher Learning. — Our State supports three institutions of higher learning — the State Agricultural College, the State University, and the State Normal School.

The Oregon Agricultural College. — This college, located at Corvallis, is supported jointly by the United States government and the state legislature. It comprises 340 acres of land and 30 buildings, besides sub-experiment stations and demonstration farms located at various points throughout the state. Its leading purpose, “without excluding other scientific and classical studies,” is “to teach such branches of learning as are related to agriculture and mechanic arts . . . in order to promote the liberal and practical education of the industrial classes in the

several pursuits and professions of life.”¹ It employs 130 regular instructors, and enrolls over 2300 students.

The University of Oregon. — The State University was founded in 1876 and is located at



STATE UNIVERSITY.

Eugene, a town of 15,000 people. The University comprises a Graduate School, a College of Literature, Science, and the Arts, a College of

¹ Act of Congress, 1862, authorizing the land grant colleges.

Engineering, a School of Journalism, a School of Law, a School of Medicine, and a School of Music. The University Campus consists of eighty acres of land, the greater part of which is as beautifully kept as a lawn, all lying within the city limits of Eugene. The University buildings



OREGON STATE NORMAL. MAIN BUILDING.

are eleven in number, in the main brick and stone construction. The number of students enrolled during the present year is 1260. The University charges no tuition and the cost of attendance is extremely low. Board and room may be had in the dormitories at a very low rate.

State Normal. — Every state should have at least one good normal school, that young men and

women may have an opportunity to train themselves for teaching. The State of Oregon maintains such an institution at Monmouth. A continuing appropriation on a millage basis provides for all the expenditures of the school. Graduates of the school are granted certificates to teach without examination.

QUESTIONS

1. Why should the State of Oregon maintain a public school system?

2. What is meant by School Lands? Explain how the money from the sale of these lands is used. What officers make up the State Land Board?

3. What is the source of tax money used for school purposes?

4. What is a school district? What board has charge of district boundaries and of what officers is it composed? Explain the three classes of school districts.

5. Name the officers of the State Board of Education. What are the chief duties of this board?

6. What are some of the advantages of uniform text-books throughout the state? By whom and for how long a term are text-books adopted in this state?

7. Why should education be compulsory? Give the substance of the compulsory education law in Oregon. What is a truant officer?

8. What are elementary schools? For how many

months must school be held in any school during the year?

9. What are high schools and how are those of our state classified? Compare the number of high schools in 1900 and in 1912.

10. Locate the Oregon Agricultural College. State its purpose and give any facts of interest concerning it that you can.

11. Locate the State University. Name the advantages to the state from an educational institution of this kind.

12. Locate the State Normal. What are the purposes of a normal school?

APPENDIX A

TABLE SHOWING THE NUMBER OF MEASURES SUBMITTED
TO THE PEOPLE OF OREGON

	1904			1905			1908			1910			1912		
	PASSED	REJECTED		PASSED	REJECTED		PASSED	REJECTED		PASSED	REJECTED		PASSED	REJECTED	
Under the Initiative . . .	2	2	0	10	7	3	11	8	3	25	8	17	28	8	20
By the Legislature . . .							4	2	2	6	1	5	6	2	4
Under the Referendum . .				1	1	0	4	2	2	1	0	1	3	1	2
TOTALS . .	2	2	0	11	8	3	19	12	7	32	9	23	37	11	26

APPENDIX B

JUDICIAL DISTRICTS IN OREGON AND NUMBER OF CIRCUIT
JUDGES IN EACH

First District — Jackson, Josephine	1
Second District — Benton, Coos, Curry, Douglas, Lane, Lincoln	3
Third District — Linn, Marion, Polk	1
Fourth District — Multnomah	6

Fifth District — Clackamas, Clatsop, Columbia, Washington	2
Sixth District — Morrow, Umatilla	1
Seventh District — Crook, Hood River, Wasco	1
Eighth District — Baker	1
Ninth District — Grant, Harney, Malheur	1
Tenth District — Union, Wallowa	1
Eleventh District — Gilliam, Sherman, Wheeler	1
Twelfth District — Tillamook, Yamhill	1
Thirteenth District — Klamath, Lake	1

APPENDIX C

SENATORIAL DISTRICTS

COUNTIES IN EACH

First District — Marion	2
Second District — Linn	1
Third District — Lane	1
Fourth District — Linn, Lane	1
Fifth District — Douglas	1
Sixth District — Jackson	1
Seventh District — Josephine	1
Eighth District — Coos, Curry	1
Ninth District — Benton, Polk	1
Tenth District — Yamhill	1
Eleventh District — Washington	1
Twelfth District — Clackamas	1
Thirteenth District — Multnomah	6
Fourteenth District — Columbia, Multnomah, Clackamas	1
Fifteenth District — Clatsop	1
Sixteenth District — Wasco	1

Seventeenth District — Crook, Klamath, Lake . . .	1
Eighteenth District — Gilliam, Sherman, Wheeler . .	1
Nineteenth District — Morrow, Umatilla, Union . . .	1
Twentieth District — Umatilla	1
Twenty-first District — Union, Wallowa	1
Twenty-second District — Grant, Harney, Malheur . .	1
Twenty-third District — Baker	1
Twenty-fourth District — Washington, Yamhill, Tilla- mook, Lincoln	1
TOTAL	30

REPRESENTATIVE DISTRICTS

COUNTIES IN EACH

First District — Marion	5
Second District — Linn	3
Third District — Lane	3
Fourth District — Douglas	2
Fifth District — Coos	1
Sixth District — Coos, Curry	1
Seventh District — Josephine	1
Eighth District — Jackson	2
Ninth District — Jackson, Douglas	1
Tenth District — Benton	1
Eleventh District — Polk	1
Twelfth District — Polk, Lincoln	1
Thirteenth District — Yamhill	2
Fourteenth District — Yamhill, Tillamook	1
Fifteenth District — Washington	3
Sixteenth District — Clackamas	3
Seventeenth District — Clackamas, Multnomah . . .	1
Eighteenth District — Multnomah	12
Nineteenth District — Clatsop	2

Twentieth District — Columbia	1
Twenty-first District — Klamath, Lake, Crook, Grant .	2
Twenty-second District — Umatilla, Morrow	1
Twenty-third District — Umatilla	2
Twenty-fourth District — Union, Wallowa	1
Twenty-fifth District — Union	1
Twenty-sixth District — Baker	1
Twenty-seventh District — Malheur, Harney	1
Twenty-eighth District — Sherman, Gilliam, Wheeler .	2
Twenty-ninth District — Wasco	2
TOTAL	60

APPENDIX D

CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN OREGON

- First District — Benton, Clackamas, Clatsop, Columbia, Coos, Curry, Douglas, Jackson, Josephine, Lane, Lincoln, Linn, Marion, Polk, Tillamook, Washington, Yamhill.
- Second District — Baker, Crook, Gilliam, Grant, Hood River, Harney, Klamath, Lake, Malheur, Morrow, Sherman, Umatilla, Union, Wallowa, Wasco, Wheeler.
- Third District — Multnomah.

APPENDIX E

STATE OFFICERS, TERMS OF OFFICE, AND SALARIES

	TERM IN YEARS, OR BY WHOM APPOINTED	
Governor	4	\$5000
Secretary of State	4	4500
State Treasurer	4	4500
Attorney-General	4	3600
Superintendent of Public Instruction	4	3000
State Printer	4	2000
Dairy and Food Com- missioner	4	2000
State Labor Commis- sioner	4	2000
Supreme Court Judges	6	4500
Clerk Supreme Court	Supreme Court	3000
Circuit Court Judges	6	\$3000 to 4000
Railroad Commis- sioners	4	4000
State Engineer	4	2400
State Fish Warden	Fish Commission	2500
Game Warden	Governor	1200
Clerk State Land Board	Land Board	2400
State Land Agent	Governor	1800
State Librarian	Supreme Court	1350
Superintendent of Penitentiary	Governor	2000

	TERM IN YEARS, OR BY WHOM APPOINTED	
Superintendent of In- sane Asylum . . .	Asylum Board	\$2000
Sheep Inspector . . .	2	2000
Secretary State Board of Health	Board of Health	
Secretary State Library Commission	State Library Com- mission	1800
Insurance Commis- sioner	4	3000
Superintendent of Banks	Board of Bank Com- missioners	3000
Adjutant General . .	Governor	2400
Commissioner of Labor Statistics	4	2000

APPENDIX F

AREA AND POPULATION OF THE COUNTIES OF OREGON FOR
1890, 1900, and 1910

	AREA IN SQUARE MILES	1910	1900	1890
Baker	3,060	18,076	15,597	6,764
Benton	688	10,663	6,706	8,650
Clackamas	1,864	29,931	19,658	15,233
Clatsop	821	16,106	12,765	10,016
Columbia	662	10,580	6,237	5,191
Coos	1,628	17,959	10,324	8,874

	AREA IN SQUARE MILES	1910	1900	1890
Crook	7,778	9,315	3,964	3,244
Curry	1,498	2,044	1,868	1,709
Douglas	4,922	19,674	14,565	11,864
Gilliam	1,201	3,701	3,201	3,600
Grant	4,520	5,607	5,948	5,080
Harney	9,933	4,059	2,598	2,559
Hood River	543	8,016		
Jackson	2,836	25,756	13,698	11,455
Josephine	1,751	9,567	7,517	4,878
Klamath	5,999	8,554	3,970	2,444
Lake	7,920	4,658	2,847	2,604
Lane	4,612	33,783	19,604	15,198
Lincoln	1,008	5,587	3,575	
Linn	2,243	22,662	18,603	16,265
Malheur	9,883	8,601	4,203	2,601
Marion	1,194	39,780	27,713	22,934
Morrow	2,025	4,357	4,151	4,205
Multnomah	451	226,261	103,167	74,884
Polk	709	13,469	9,923	7,858
Sherman	836	4,242	3,477	1,792
Tillamook	1,125	6,266	4,471	2,932
Umatilla	3,173	20,309	18,049	13,381
Union	2,087	16,191	16,070	12,044
Wallowa	3,145	8,364	5,538	3,661
Wasco	2,343	16,336	13,199	9,183
Washington	731	21,522	14,467	11,972
Wheeler	1,704	2,484	2,443	
Yamhill	714	18,285	13,420	10,692
Water Areas	1,092			
TOTALS	96,699	672,765	413,536	313,767

APPENDIX G

TABLE SHOWING THE POLITICAL DISTRICT IN WHICH EACH
COUNTY OF THE STATE IS LOCATED

COUNTY	CONGRES- SIONAL DISTRICT	JUDICIAL DISTRICT	SENATO- RIAL DIS- TRICT	REPRE- SENTA- TIVE DISTRICT
Baker	2d	8th	23d	26th
Benton	1st	2d	9th	10th
Clackamas	1st	5th	{ *14th 12th	*17th 16th
Clatsop	1st	5th	15th	19th
Columbia	1st	5th	*14th	20th
Coos	1st	2d	*8th	{ *6th 5th
Crook	2d	7th	*17th	*21st
Curry	1st	2d	*8th	*6th
Douglas	1st	2d	5th	{ *9th 4th
Gilliam	2d	11th	*18th	*28th
Grant	2d	9th	*22d	*21st
Harney	2d	9th	*22d	*27th
Hood River	2d	7th	*16th	*29th
Jackson	1st	1st	6th	{ *9th 8th
Josephine	1st	1st	7th	7th
Klamath	2d	13th	*17th	*21st
Lake	2d	13th	*17th	*21st
Lane	1st	2d	{ *4th 3d	3d

* Joint District.

COUNTY	CONGRES- SIONAL DISTRICT	JUDICIAL DISTRICT	SENATO- RIAL DIS- TRICT	REPRE- SENTA- TIVE DISTRICT
Lincoln	1st	2d	*24th	*12th
Linn	1st	3d	{ * 4th 2d	2d
Malheur	2d	9th	*22d	*27th
Marion	1st	3d	1st	1st
Morrow	2d	6th	*19th	*22d
Multnomah	3d	4th	{ *14th 13th	*17th 18th
Polk	1st	3d	9th	{ *12th 11th
Sherman	2d	11th	*18th	*28th
Tillamook	1st	12th	*24th	*14th
Umatilla	2d	6th	{ *19th 20th	{ *22d 23d
Union	2d	10th	{ *19th *21st	{ *24th 25th
Wallowa	2d	10th	*21st	*24th
Wasco	2d	7th	*16th	*29th
Washington	1st	5th	{ 11th *24th	15th
Wheeler	2d	11th	*18th	*28th
Yamhill	1st	12th	{ 10th *24th	*14th 13th

* Joint District.

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N.P. letter from Org
McNary and
Chadler.

N.P.
McNary

Letter
McNary Org

Second Monday in
June every 2 years
in Salem

88

1789 -

1789

1789

1789

County Judges

D.B. Reasoner.

Commissioners

H.S. Reese, John Cornell
Clerk.

H.A. Kuratli

Sheriff
Alexander
Treasurer

E.B. Sappington
Assessor

W.F. Boley.
School Sup.

Pa. Frost.

first thing after the
first world war in Nov.
2 every 10 years.

3 Friday in m. ag. Primary

2800 788 people

$$\begin{array}{r} 1915 \\ 789 \\ \hline 2129 \\ 65 \end{array}$$

- 1 Secretary of State, ~~Robert Lansing~~
- 2 " of Treasury, W.H. Woodruff
- 3 " of War, W.D. Barker
- 4 " of Navy, J. Daniels
- 5 " of Interior, L.M. Lane
- 6 " of Agriculture, D.F. Houston
- 7 " of Commerce, H.B. Redfield
- 8 " of Labor, H.B. Wilson
- 9 Civil Service
- 10 Postmaster General, A.S. Burleson
- Attorney-General, S.H. Gregory

Robert Lansing

Sec. of Treasury
vice Pres.

3 congressman
2 senator

